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10 November 1983

# Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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SOVIET CULTURAL PENETRATION OF AFRICA DISCRIBED

Paris LE MOIS EN AFRIQUE in French Aug-Sep 83 pp 21-46

[Article by Dr Dominique Bendo-Soupou, doctor of political sociology, research fellow from the CNRI [presumably National Center for International Research] at the Institute of Public Law of Naples; research conducted with aid of the National Research Council and the Institute of Public Law of Naples]

[Text] The African policies of Western countries explain changes in Africa by economicistic-type schemes that deviate from cultural considerations. The African cultural policy of the USSR and the strategy of penetration on which it is based place particular emphasis on the expansion of the communist culture and its dominant ideology: Marxism-Leninism in Africa. These two types of cultures consider that economic phenomena are essentially of a purely cultural nature and their manifestations are at the root of the social conflicts and ratios of forces that affect the world in general and Africa in particular.

The USSR therefore views every united or multipolar social dimension as a cultural reality that must be shaped in order to modify those conflictive social conditions.

In the West, the acerbic criticisms of the Soviet Union in its relations with Africa are essentially directed at the form of its policy, often labeled as a "policy of delivering arms and subversion" against the West and the so-called friendly African nations.

Although partially realistic, these criticisms do not take into account the normal logic motivating types of policy and strategy that respond properly to the individual nature of the socioeconomic and political situation of Africa.

Actually, the African cultural policy of the USSR is in many ways identical to that of the Western nations which justified their penetration of precolonial Africa by the bringing of civilization.<sup>1</sup> The purposes of that Soviet policy are two in number.

The clearly admitted objective is the reversal of the ratio of forces favorable to the West, which exploits the economy of Africa after having established, even imposed, its cultural values on it. The unavowed objective is control over new ratios of forces to the detriment of the West and probably Africa.

The introduction and utilization of a culture in that Africa deemed permeable thus turn out to be necessary, whatever the difficulties it might encounter. Is it a question of a "political culture" of liberation and subsequent domination of Africa by the USSR? Of this there can be no doubt, even with respect to the parts of that culture which one might wrongly label as neutral.

The conditions of the drafting and execution of such a policy foreshadow the results anticipated by the USSR from its penetration of Africa by its culture.

## I. Drafting of the USSR's African Cultural Policy

### A. Origins

At the outset, let us point out the paradox marking the African cultural policy of the Soviets. That policy is in fact specifically inspired by the policy of the penetration of Africa followed by Russia under Nicolas II, who granted cultural aid to Ethiopia when it was at war with Italy in 1896. That Russian presence in Africa constitutes a historic strategic precedent used as a reference by the drafters of the African policy of the USSR.

Although little inclined to praise the Russia of the Czars, the Academy of Sciences (African Institute) of the USSR preserves and utilizes the details of the Ethiopian campaign, during which the medical courses given to the Ethiopians permitted the establishment of the first Red Cross center in that country. In the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Soviet Russia is the letter of thanks dated 22 October 1896 and sent by Emperor Menelik II, who writes: "Today, during these cruel times, when people are divided into friends and enemies, the Russian Government, unlike all others, responds to our old friendship with the sending of doctors from your Red Cross. The work accomplished thanks to your assistance...is visible to everyone in our country. The example you have set is engraved in the hearts of the Ethiopian people. We hope that this work of good Christians...will live forever and grow stronger. May the friendship of our two nations grow throughout the ages."<sup>2</sup>

The historic precedent enables Soviet authorities to recall the presence of Russia and the USSR in the tragic past of Africa, marked by colonial and world wars and wars of secession in the Congo (Kinshasa), Ethiopia and Nigeria and wars of liberation in Algeria, Angola, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and today in South Africa and Namibia. In other words, it makes it possible to underline the continuity of the Soviet presence in defending Africa against threats from imperialist powers. Following the example of certain nations: Switzerland, Sweden, Finland...and Russia, the continuity of whose African policy it ensures, the Soviet Union tries to expose the humanistic cultural side of its penetration, while endeavoring to follow Lenin's directives.

Actually, after the Ethiopian campaign of 1896, Africa and Russia were affected by colonization and revolution respectively. Russia was integrated into the Soviet Federation, which, until the 1950's, could not establish official contact with Africa.

In 1917, Lenin took power. A fervent defender of all nations' right to self-determination since 1915, Lenin laid down the foundations for a cultural

policy that stresses a universal-type culture, without a doubt, in the name of proletarian internationalism and the spreading of socialism in the countries of Africa now entirely colonized.<sup>3</sup> Its budding policy consisted of the creation of a new culture: "socialist culture," whose essence is determined by a progressive conception of the world. This Marxist conception of the world is the only accurate expression of the interests, views and revolutionary proletarian culture.

For the USSR, Lenin proposed a "cultural revolution" that was to embrace the positive points of the old culture. But he also emphasizes that the link between these two cultures had to depend on the perfect knowledge of culture created throughout the course of mankind. The latter is the "world culture" which, linked to that of the USSR, would permit the creation of the "proletarian culture." Lenin concluded very clearly that "the proletarian culture must be the logical development of the sum of knowledge that mankind has accumulated."<sup>4</sup>

This concept of Lenin questions the monopolistic tendencies of the state over culture and claims respect for and reconciliation of the diverse national cultures that could be sources of inspiration. It also brings out Lenin's attachment to a policy considering the international cultural situation, a situation that manifestly affected the systematic drafting of the USSR's cultural policy on Africa.

#### B. Systematic Drafting

Lenin's ideas were taken up as directives, particularly developed after Stalin, under whom the VOKS was set up in 1925. It is an autonomous organization for the dissemination of Soviet culture abroad and of foreign cultures in the USSR and whose activity has been slim.

The Soviet cultural policy experienced a prodigious boom after the first 30 years of the Soviet state. The opening to the outside is at the root of the development of this policy.<sup>5</sup>

Stalin's death and the de-Stalinization led by Khrushchev in 1953 enabled the USSR to insert itself into international relations. The goal was to shed light on the accomplishments of the "cultural revolution," which the Soviet Union would also like to compare with the cultural potential of other countries.<sup>6</sup> But at the time, the USSR was also thinking of the "struggling peoples" of Africa driven by the wind of self-determination.

The 20th and 22d congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), held in 1956 and 1961, were a historic turning point in the drafting of this policy and its strategy and granted an important place to international cultural relations. The 22d Congress stated forcefully that "it is important to create an authentic resource of spiritual culture."<sup>7</sup> The party, which is the main driving force behind Soviet society "drafted and formulated" the basic principles of the "cultural policy" expressing the interests and aspirations of the people. Government organizations expressed these principles in practice and ensured constant leadership of the development of culture in the country.

In keeping with Lenin's teachings, general principles on the universality of culture were drawn up by Soviet sages. The general trend of these principles emphasize the double role which the socialist and communist culture should play. One the one hand, it must enable the great masses of workers to become familiar with the accomplishments of world culture and participate actively in the new culture. On the other hand, it would encourage the gradual and permanent merger of the culture of mankind and classes into a single whole based on the socialist content of the different forms of national cultures. The Marxist-Leninist ideology is the dominant theme of communist culture.

The concept of global culture put up by the 22d Congress and which was to motivate the spirit of Soviet international cultural policy has no place for the differentiation of other national cultures, even primitive. It therefore rejects the concept of a "culture of growth and fulfillment" considered as the monopoly of a state or a community and based on a given race that is to impose it or deny it to other peoples because of their geographic or racial origins and the nature of their culture.<sup>8</sup>

As for Marxism-Leninism, the 22d Congress proposed that its negative political aspects be purged in order to develop the humanistic side, which should be the dominant aspect of that ideology and of communist culture.<sup>9</sup>

At these particular times of the congresses of the CPSU that were beginning to open that country up to the outside and enrich the Soviet cultural policy by principles of the universalization of culture, the USSR was thinking of the African territories that were acceding to independence and coming into international life.

#### C. Drafting of Cultural Policy of USSR in Terms of African Independence

The independence of emerging African nations greatly motivated the drafters of Soviet foreign policy to develop points relative to the expansion of the culture of the USSR in Africa. Actually, at the time of de-Stalinization in 1953, Africa had only four independent nations: Ethiopia, Libya, Egypt and Liberia, which were still under the authority of monarchs very hostile to communist culture. The political neutralism of Egypt did not prevent it from distrusting the USSR, with which it established diplomatic relations on 26 August 1943.<sup>10</sup> The same was true of Libya and Ethiopia, which established relations on 4 September 1955, 21 April 1948 and 2 January 1956 respectively.

By 1958, the effort made since the USSR since 1953 to make its cultural revolution known had produced meager results, even if the type of culture it displayed did hold great attraction for many Africans going to study in the country. The reticence of anticomunist Western and Latin American nations strongly linked to the United States led the USSR to choose the newcomers to the international scene, which seemed easier to entice. The strategy was more credible and profitable immediately, given the great number of countries aspiring to independence. But the problem facing Soviet strategists was to find the country possessing geo-strategic and political conditions favorable to real penetration.

In 1958, the USSR penetrated Africa through Guinea, which it chose and which had made an appeal to it. There are two reasons for the choice: the resounding break with France, whose cultural agreements and culture of assimilation proposed through the French Community it rejected.<sup>11</sup> Guinea is neither a trouble zone nor a region under the control of a power that could have hindered the USSR's penetration of Africa. At that time, the USSR thought (erroneously) that a cultural vacuum would emerge, to be filled by Soviet culture.

In its careful choice and despite the political importance of Ghana and its leader in Africa, the Soviet Union discarded Ghana, still linked to the Commonwealth. It also neglected American-leaning Liberia, which it had recognized since 5 August 1924; Egypt, which it aided in 1956 with the ultimatum sent to the British and French troops that invaded the Suez Canal; and finally, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia, still closed to communist culture, and even Sudan, which already had the largest Communist Party in Africa.

Between 1960 and 1961, 20 African territories gained independence but remained under the thumb of the former colonial powers hostile to the Marxist-Leninist and communist culture. This Western vigilance did not prevent the USSR from proposing semi-official cultural relations, attracting several Africans going beyond the anticommunism of their nations. Such was the case of the natives of all the non-autonomous English-, French- and Portuguese-speaking states and territories, with the exclusion of the Congo (Kinshasa), Egypt, Ethiopia, Guinea, Ghana and Mali, which had entered the bloc of progressive, nonaligned countries.

These relations would be extended to natives of countries acceding to independence during the 1962-1968 period: Burundi, Botswana, Gambia, Equatorial Guinea, Malawi, Mauritania, Uganda, Rwanda and Zambia. They were also strengthened to benefit those relying on Liberation Fronts: Algeria (FLN), 1954-1962; Angola (MPLA), 1961-1975; the Congo (Kinshasa) (APL [expansion unknown]), 1964; Guinea Bissau (PAIGC), 1966-1974; Mozambique (FRELIMO), 1962-1974; and Zimbabwe (ZANU), 1965-1980.

In 1963, following the "glorious days of 13, 14 and 15 August" which brought about the fall of President Fulbert Youlou, an anticommunist Francophile, the Congo (Brazzaville) would take the path of the other progressive countries and actually replace the Congo (Kinshasa), whose cultural relations were quite cool with the USSR. Because of its inclination to scientific socialism and Marxism-Leninism,<sup>12</sup> the creation of a people's republic in 1969 and its strategic position, the Congo (Brazzaville) enjoyed remarkable cultural advantages.

Starting in 1964, most English- and French-speaking countries noted the limited means of France and Great Britain, the indecisive interest of the United States and the growing importance in the world of the USSR, with which they were timidly beginning to establish cultural, scientific, economic and military aid relations having a cultural effect. This was the case of Gabon, the Ivory Coast, Nigeria during the Biafran war of secession (1967),<sup>13</sup> Somalia (1969) and Ethiopia (1974), which alternately opted for the USSR.<sup>14</sup>

It should be noted that for the most part, except for its difficulties in Egypt (1976) and Somalia (1977), the period of the 1960's and 1970's witnessed high popularity of the USSR in Africa. This popularity is due to insistence on its policy of liberation of Africa, whose liberation movements it recruited as they triumphed over colonial control.

The objective of the 1980's is still the liberation of Africa in particular from the last bastions of colonialism: South Africa and Namibia, the rampart of the former. In order to achieve its objective, the USSR is bent on training in its territory and in the countries bordering on southern Africa the members of liberation organizations: the African National Congress (ANC), the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO), officered by experts already sent to the field of operations.

And yet, the Soviet Union is aware that the liberation of Africa by military culture is but the first phase in the process. The second phase should be the systematic destruction of Western culture and the mentality it has engendered on the continent.

This double operation requires a strategy of maximum utilization of Soviet advisers who would clearly understand the contradictory requirements of the two poles of power and give preference to those of the USSR, while making them conform to those of Africa to the extent possible. This explains, at least partially, the presence of thousands of Africans in the USSR, who are in contact with the Soviet institutions that draft and execute the African cultural policy of that socialist state.

#### D. Institutions for Drafting the African Cultural Policy of the USSR

Because of the importance of Africa in the strategy of building the power of and expanding Soviet culture, the drafting and execution of the African cultural policy of the USSR is the responsibility of numerous institutions, all controlled by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). These institutions handle the distribution of scholarships to Africans, the coordination of scientific and technical research, even in the fields of sociology and African political history, the dissemination of journals, brochures and works published in several African regional languages, the distribution and rental of films and the organization of film festivals in Africa on the subject of the Soviet and African revolutions.

Among these institutions, the universities, institutes and schools play a decisive role. The Patrice Lumumba University in Moscow, set up in 1960, is a meeting place for African students and trainees who find there the structures they need to know Africa better. Every year, the eight schools of the university make a considerable number of scholarships available to Africans. The Lenin Institute in Moscow mainly takes in candidates proposed by brother parties in Africa and who will hold high government posts. Like Patrice Lumumba University, it responds to strategic imperatives. Special attention must be paid to the 24 military academies and schools reserved for African soldiers and the 6 civilian schools specializing in strategy, management and the operation of military services.

It should be emphasized in passing that these institutions enable authorities to determine the level of dissemination of African culture in the USSR and of Soviet culture in Africa, where some of them are responsible for execution of this cultural policy.

## II. Execution of the African Cultural Policy of the USSR

Execution of the African cultural policy of the USSR emphasizes the strategy and objectives underlying it since the 1950's: the drain of African students to the Soviet Union and the sending of Soviets to Africa as advisers. These two objectives are the current fundamental bases of the policy, whose impact is clearly remarkable in the USSR and Africa.

### A. Student Drain

Since the 1950's, the USSR has endeavored to attract to its civilian and military educational establishments the most permeable African youth on guard against Western "cultural imperialism."

The first students to go to the USSR were from Algeria, Egypt and Sudan (1956), Morocco and Tunisia (1957), Cameroon, Guinea, Kenya, Uganda and Somalia (1959), where information circulated on the role of Soviet culture in national liberation. Between 1956 and 1960, the number of Africans in the USSR was 5,844, including 5,000 in 1957 for all colonized territories. In 1960-1961, there would be an increase of 933 from 22 countries. It was the period of the recent establishment of Patrice Lumumba University in Moscow, which received over 1,000 Africans<sup>15</sup> out of 3,500 Soviets and foreigners. During the period of the great openness of the USSR to the outside and the irresistible attraction it exerted on the Africans that flowed to it (1956-1957), there were 6,593.<sup>16</sup>

After 1967, their number would increase and reach 11,500 individuals in 1974-1975 and from 17,000 to 17,500 in 1979-1980 from 53 countries.<sup>17</sup> The latest estimates of JEUNE AFRIQUE emphasize the number of 25,000 Africans from Black Africa which reportedly studied in the USSR in 1981.<sup>18</sup>

If one considers that out of 10,000 applications sent to Patrice Lumumba University every year, 600 are chosen, their number had to be over 26,000 in 1982 and 27,000 in 1983 at the very least.

Although Dollot maintains that with respect to the drain of Africans to the USSR, it has not achieved its objectives, probably because of the competition from Western countries in particular, the following table presents a situation resulting from the efforts made by the Soviet Union during the early years of its opening to Africa.

Students Educated in Institutions of Higher Education From 1956 to 1973  
(including candidates for doctorate in research)

<u>Country</u>	<u>1st Year</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Country</u>	<u>1st Year</u>	<u>Number</u>
Algeria	1956	150	Libya	1966	4
Angola	1961	70	Madagascar	1960	10
Benin	1960	75	Mali	1960	253
Botswana	1966	14	Morocco	1957	140
Burundi	1964	76	Mauritania	1961	23
Cameroon	1959	169	Mozambique	1963	19
Central Africa	1966	54	Namibia	1964	8
Comoro Islands	1964	5	Niger	1960	49
Congo (Brazzaville)	1961	299	Nigeria	1960	657
Congo (Kinshasa)	1960	90	Uganda	1959	181
Ivory Coast	1960	67	Rep. South Africa	1960	78
Egypt	1956	712	Reunion	1964	22
Ethiopia	1960	112	Rwanda	1960	78
Gabon	1964	6	Senegal	1960	36
Gambia	1965	17	Sierra Leone	1960	256
Ghana	1960	571	Somalia	1959	478
Guinea	1959	146	Sudan	1956	434
Guinea Bissau	1960	111	Tanzania	1960	300
Equatorial Guinea	1967	4	Chad	1960	34
Upper Volta	1966	5	Togo	1960	75
Mauritius	1960	84	Tunisia	1957	81
Kenya	1959	456	Zambia	1961	37
Lesotho	1961	18	Zimbabwe	1962	38

Total: 6,563<sup>19</sup>

Under what conditions are these Africans welcomed, supported and integrated into the USSR if one considers that they are one of the major concerns of the Soviet Union and the African nations?

1. Africans generally arrive in the USSR by plane. The traditional and essentially time of their arrival is the month of August. At the airport, newcomers are greeted by officials from the department that granted them the scholarship. They are next taken to the university hotel, where they can receive visits from their diplomatic representatives and Soviet authorities. Private visits to this category of Africans are somewhat prohibited. This quarantine is justified by preventive medical measures which are very strict in the USSR.

After completing all health and administrative formalities and after university officials have decided to assign them to the different university centers, the future students are sent to the regions and dormitories where they will live. Leaving the university hotel marks the beginning of their integration into Soviet social life.

## 2. Integration of African Students

At the time of their departure for the USSR, the Africans expect rather negative treatment because they are aware of racial discrimination practiced by European and American Whites. For them, the Soviets are not different. But this is where the Africans are very surprised: the absence of systematic racial discrimination.

At the universities, Africans have particularly friendly relations with the professors. The attention of the latter results from a moral obligation and one imposed by the party, which leads them to learn about the reasons for absences of their students, whom they then visit in order to help them catch up. The same is true when students either cannot do their lessons or do not understand them and go to the professors on purpose. Professors then either invite them into their homes or remain with them in the classroom for additional explanations.

This type of relationship makes it possible to integrate Africans, who find an opportunity to develop their culture and increase contacts even with Soviets of high society. In addition, there are particular favors: school supplies, instruction and the different preparatory classes enabling Africans to catch up with their Soviet colleagues, medical visits, vacations in sanatoriums where they meet Soviets from different backgrounds. All these favors are means of integration that determine the high percentage of success obtained by Africans at university centers and at Patrice Lumumba University, about which there have been defamatory remarks, such as "the courses and education are inferior and success is due to the professors."<sup>20</sup>

In the well-organized dormitories, difficulties with integration begin. Africans are housed in rooms of three to five students, at least one or two of whom are responsible, it would appear, for aiding and guiding foreigners. Here, imaginary or real complaints repeatedly emerge from foreigners (Africans also). "The Soviets watch us, spy on us and file their reports. Baggage and rooms are searched. It is difficult to organize meetings between students in the absence of university authorities. It is not possible to speak freely. They imagine that we are plotting against them."<sup>21</sup>

The distrust of the African for his Soviet neighbor does not ease integration into the dormitory. His placement among Soviets is regarded as a police limitation and a form of organization limiting his freedom to choose those with whom he would live. Conflicts arising out of this cohabitation often result in the transfer of Africans or Soviets to other rooms. It has been confirmed that, at least in the beginning, Africans prefer to live with their African comrades. The conflicts caused by this difficult coexistence are problems that the Soviets have a great deal of difficulty overcoming in the early school years.

The different dormitories, institutes and organizations of solidarity do organize parties, events and excursions to get Africa and the Soviet Union to know one another and reduce the isolation of the Africans, who end up meeting with their fellow countrymen during these functions.

As they travel around the country, Africans discover that the discrimination one finds in the United States and other European nations does not exist. In their relations with young men and women, they find particular cordiality. In the stores and at the bus stops, they are not hassled. Rather, they are questioned in a friendly manner, with such phrases as "Go ahead and come up in front. Do not wait."

The statement of one Ghanaian sums up the general reaction of the Africans with regard to the Soviets. "Our black skin is our passport."<sup>22</sup>

Consequently, "Hey boy!" type remarks are interpreted by Africans as the acts of hoods without animosity. A ban on going to a hotel is attributed to the misconduct of an African brother.

And yet, the integration sought by Soviet authorities meets with the hostility of many Soviets with respect to Africans who seek to go out with their fellow citizens. The suspicious death of a Ghanaian student in 1963 illustrates these acts of veiled intolerance confirmed by the positions of university authorities.<sup>23</sup>

Actually, although proud of the integration of their students into social life, universities do not encourage marriage between Africans (foreigners) and Soviets. The reasons given are the "cultural differences," which is one of the arguments close to those of the "South African Boers" and is in blatant contradiction with the principles of the dominant communist culture and ideology as Lenin preached them.

In the light of the preceding observations, a reasonable question must be asked. Do these numerous subtle factors intervening in relations with the Soviets not give Africans the impression of racial prejudice? The answer comes from an American Black, identical to those given by Africans: "These acts could be discrimination, but are not clearly considered as acts of racial discrimination." This observation is then met by another question. Can one logically distinguish "discrimination" (in the broader sense) from "racial discrimination" which, for Africans, seems nonexistent in the USSR because of prohibition by strict laws? The answer comes from the interpretation of the objection of the Ghanaian student previously quoted. Discrimination accompanied by positive conduct (excessive favors to Africans) in order to respond to customs of Soviet hospitality and negative facts (sacrifices of Soviets) is a negative phenomenon, especially in a country in which the principle of the equality of races is part of the strictest legislation.

The introduction of discrimination that one could wrongly term "positive" helps the integration of Africans into Soviet social life. The 1966 remarks of a Nigerian according to which "since the demonstrations (over the death of the Ghanaian), they have taken the trouble to be nice to us," emphasizes this preferential treatment used as an element of strategy toward these Africans on whom the reputation of the USSR in Africa could depend.

Nevertheless, this preferential treatment and the integration of the Africans who are the ostensible target experiences restrictions, which to a large extent are common to the Soviets.

The main restrictions have to do with their traveling inside and outside the USSR, engaging in lucrative activities and the use of written works and slogans of writers or political leaders.

The ban on traveling is attributed by Africans to the wish of authorities to set up expeditions in order to prevent foreigners from going to other regions, undoubtedly for reasons of military security or to prevent meetings between Africans and Soviets in rural areas whose social conditions surprised certain Nigerians.<sup>24</sup> Limitations on traveling abroad are due to the desire to prevent Africans from comparing models of Western societies with that of the USSR, which they might then leave before completing their studies.

Denial of the right to work is justified by the requirements of a plan which determines the number of jobs and the best living conditions reserved for African students.

As for the last restrictions which considerably affect freedom of opinion, they are for the purpose of preventing antisocialist (or anti-Soviet) positions that would question foreign policy and Soviet ideological views and tend to prove the alignment of their authors with political leaders such as Mao Tse-tung and Enver Hodja (Albania).

Opposite these restrictions and special treatment are the obligations, family rights and political exile which contribute to the integration of the African, whose living conditions: change in residence, personal status and obtention of a job, still remain better than those of the Soviets.

#### B. Support of African Students

Support for the African who studies in the USSR begins as soon as he receives his ticket in Africa. Actual support begins upon his arrival in the Soviet Union. It consists of all preventive and general medical care and hospitalization if deemed necessary, housing in student dormitories and issuance of school supplies: books and clothes. This is an automatic right which any student may demand in the USSR.

The scholarship is given to any student entering the Soviet Union with or without authorization from his government or the invitation from authorities of the USSR. The only condition required by Soviets is the admission of the student in order to stay for a period of studies.

The amount of the scholarship is 80 rubles a month during the preparatory phase of studies. It is 90 rubles during the regular course of higher studies. Students who have good grades are rewarded and can receive up to 125 rubles, while the average wage in the Soviet Union is 100 rubles a month. Students with degrees are even more pampered, receiving 150 rubles a month plus the benefits already mentioned. Free traveling expenditures are added to these advantages.

All African students think they are well supported and are grateful for the treatment they receive, which is undeniably the reason for the high percentage of success they have.

African students are more favored than their Soviet colleagues, who receive 50 rubles, plus 20 for the more advanced students. This difference in treatment results in ill feelings and friction between African and Soviet students.

While the Africans bring up racial prejudice they feel, which does not exist among university officials, university authorities calmly deny the existence of such tension due to the system of scholarships which the Soviets find unfair. But the response of one official at Patrice Lumumba University denying the existence of such tension clearly exposes the causes for the tension in these terms: "Come here at 1700 hours on a Saturday and you will see the number of African students with Russian girlfriends." This statement relates exact facts which point out the higher standard of living of Africans, who then become more attractive for girls seeking the things the latter can buy them. The resentment of Soviet students toward these foreigners can be attributed to the difference in financial means in competing for the favors of Russian girls.

And yet, the financial position of the Africans does no harm to their total satisfaction. Their fundamental needs have to do with products lacking on the Soviet market. It was probably not because of a whom that one Ghanaian said: "We don't have much in Ghana. I thought that here it would be much better. When I left Accra, I gave away all my shirts. I thought they would be much better here. I arrived and saw that my shirts were much better than what they have here!" Other students added that they "thought they were headed for 'paradise'" and that they were disappointed by the quantity and quality of the food, clothing, cigarettes and scarcity of consumer goods in general."<sup>25</sup>

The disappointment of these students largely explains the trips they take at least once every two years to visit their relatives and friends and take the money sent to them from home or in order to get a part time job on the sly in England, France, and so on. The purpose of the trips is to buy different things: mainly clothes, which they wear, resell in the USSR or give to their Soviet girlfriends. This disappointment also explains the departure of some from the USSR for the West, where they think they can better satisfy their aspirations. This departure amounts to the end of their studies in the USSR.

#### C. End of Studies in USSR

The end of studies comes with the obtention of the diploma following at least 4 years, revocation of the scholarship because of repeated failure, inability to integrate, lack of motivation or bad conduct. It may also result from anti-Sovietism<sup>26</sup> and the commission of crimes causing the student to be sent back to his country or desertion by Africans who go home or continue their studies in the West or another Eastern bloc country.

Outside of these conditions, there is nothing to justify extension of the stay except preparations for the return trip home, family problems in the case of a consummated marriage and political exile. Political exile is now particularly the prerogative of South Africans and Namibians, following the Angolans, Algerians, Guineans and Cape Verdians, Mozambicans, Zimbabweans and those from countries marked by their anticomunism: the Ivory Coast, Gabon, Malawi, and so on.

Most students indicate that Soviet authorities strongly encourage that they return home for two reasons: The first is that the graduate student offers proof of the efforts made by the USSR to stimulate cultural development in Africa. The second is that such a return would mean the insertion of an African into his society where, in carrying out his duties, he could represent Soviet culture and, subconsciously, the USSR.

If the USSR is proud of the good results obtained by the majority of the Africans, it considers those who return unsuccessfully as persons not capable of taking advantage of the considerable means made available to them for their cultural development. Strategically speaking, it believes that the "failures" are potential enemies of the USSR, to which they do not even owe thanks.

Most students who leave the Soviet Union emphasize the Soviets' insistence on a direct return to their native country of all Africans, whether or not they were successful in school. This attitude of the Soviets can be verified by the issuance of tickets without stopovers in capitalist countries. It is aimed at preventing any stay for study in the latter countries, where the African student might take the myth out of Soviet culture and go back to his former cultural complexes.

However, this vigilance on the part of the Soviets does not prevent Africans, even those having performed brilliantly in school, from going to the West during or after their return trip home. Actually, during their stay in the USSR, many of them go to Western capitals and gain information about the equivalence of diplomas and their university or postgraduate studies. The goal they pursue is the obtention of an equivalent degree automatically recognized by their governments and people.<sup>27</sup>

Following what are often quite advanced studies, they go to the West using the excuse of visiting relatives.

Upon leaving the USSR, they all undergo an inspection to see the academic files in their possession, files which can be taken away if they are of some importance. This inspection after the fact makes it possible to better appreciate the intentions and limitations of the "conversion" of the African, on whom the USSR hopes to rely in order to widen the scope of its action in Africa.

### III. Cultural Action of USSR in Africa

The second important aspect of the African cultural policy and the strategy underlying it concerns the action of the USSR in Africa. This action consists of carrying out the policy and evaluating its development in and impact on Africa. Whence the need to establish cultural departments, send missions and civilian and military agents in order to train, discover and recontact Africans "in the field." This presence in Africa makes it possible to determine the level of cultural penetration on the basis of the warmth of the welcome reserved for Soviets, Russian-speaking individuals, Sovietophiles and Sovietophobes.

#### A. Establishment of Soviet Diplomatic Services in Africa

The greatest effort undertaken by the USSR since its penetration in Africa via Guinea in 1958 is the establishment of diplomatic services handling cultural affairs in the countries it recognizes during their national liberation struggle or on the eve or day of their independence. The often hasty recognition is the very effective means used by this government to attract the sympathy of African countries which could establish diplomatic relations with it in order to exchange their students with Soviet technicians.

The diplomatic services used as early as the 1940's (during the colonial period) are those set up in Western countries where certain Africans (members of parliament) or those close to communists gained information on the Soviet cultural revolution. It is from these services, backed by the VOKS, the organization responsible for cultural relations with other countries, that the first works, brochures and ideological pamphlets went to Africa. These instruments of political culture are distributed and used by African leaders looking for the independence of what the USSR still calls "peoples in struggle." Thus, after the years following World War II, Soviet cultural penetration in Africa was undertaken by natives foreign to the USSR.

After the resounding events of Guinea and the succession of African independences, the Soviet Union moved to set up diplomatic services which detected the best elements to study in the USSR, elements it could first of all train at home, after first supplying all information on studies, scholarships and social life in the USSR, where the services in question back applications for scholarships and admission to educational, ministerial and party institutions. In Africa, they renewed contact with those who studied in the USSR, evaluated the evolution of Soviet, Western and African cultures and oversaw Soviets integrated into the circuit of cultural cooperation.

#### B. Soviet Cultural Cooperation in Africa

Soviet cooperation in Africa generally consists of sending personnel made up of professors, technicians, experts and military and civilian advisers who are "technical assistants in culture," covering many domains. This cooperation can be analyzed through agreements which the Soviet Government makes on precise points. Based on 120 agreements set up with 51 nations, "the USSR must send a specific number of professors, technicians, experts, instructors and advisers," responsibility for which belongs to the African nations. The length of their cooperation stay in Africa is 5 years. It can be renewed with or without the addition of new persons in the operational quotas.

These agreements show that even if the Africans received by the USSR are the object of cooperation exchanges, only the Soviets are considered as technical assistants [cooperants]. Whence the question: Who are the Soviet technical assistants in culture, how many are there and what are they doing in Africa?

## 1. Who Soviet Technical Assistants in Culture Are

It is difficult at the outset to say who the Soviet cultural assistants are because of the lack of any definition and the discretion imposed by the Soviet strategy, which prevents one from knowing how many such cultural agents the USSR has in Africa.

Actually, they are Soviets with all kinds of duties and posts who go to Africa periodically to improve or correct Soviet-African relations, and Africans, to the extent they intervene, even subconsciously, on behalf of Soviet interests.<sup>28</sup> In other words, they are many persons who, on the basis of agreements or orders received from the USSR, teach, organize, inform and advise Africans and thereby convey some type of political, economic, legal, military, artistic, cinematographic or other culture in Africa.

## 2. Number and Activities of Soviets in Africa<sup>29</sup>

Penetration by Soviet technical assistants in Africa began at the end of the 1950's with the entry into Guinea. They number over 10,000, including 10 generals, 318 intelligence agents and 918 other civil servants whose presence may have military implications. They are backed by some 40,000 to 50,000 Cubans, 6,000 East Germans and a few hundred Czechs and North Koreans, mainly in the progressive or nonaligned countries: Algeria, Angola, the Congo, Ethiopia, Libya, Guinea and Cape Verde, Madagascar, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia.

The tasks of the Soviets are many and consist of training Africans in different scientific, technical and military fields and social sciences.

Professors and teachers are sent to the universities, higher institutes, classic and technical secondary schools, centers linked to production and cultural centers for the teaching of Russian and Soviet civilization, without forgetting party schools which the USSR builds, mainly in the Congo.

In Algeria, a contingent of 1,200 professors are found in 80 establishments and teach over 40,000 students and pupils. The Algerian Government uses them to draft measures in order to reform secondary education. They are also included in the commission on the reform of higher education.

In Zambia, nearly 100 are found in 27 cities giving courses in biology, physics, chemistry and mathematics in the highest classes of the secondary schools.

In the Congo, they cooperate with Congolese teachers and professors. They have developed programs, three manuals and textbooks of chemistry and physics for secondary and higher education. They have drafted programs on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy and political economics for schools of administration and the union.

In Mali, they have made up new programs of study for 30 mathematics students. A group of these professors has put together a French-Russian dictionary for the students and pupils. These groups, which also exist in the Central African Republic, Uganda, Somalia, Tanzania, Benin and Chad, are responsible for training national cadres for education.

It should be pointed out in passing that the moderate countries do not use these technical assistants in the social sciences in which education on ideologies comes in.

In their work, the Soviets emphasize the principle of the polytechnical nature of instruction (grouping of technical branches), which consists of developing the intellectual activity of Africans by connecting theory and practice. In order to force success, they take into consideration the local conditions to which they try to apply their teachings.

The military experts, instructors and advisers appear to be the most numerous in Africa because of the USSR's insistence on military aid concentrated in progressive countries and troubled zones: Angola, Ethiopia, Libya-Chad, Mozambique, Somalia and Egypt, before the expulsion of the Soviets in 1976 and 1977.

These assistants train and organize militias, liberation movements and cadres who have studied in the Soviet military academies. Their instruction essentially has to do with theory and drills in conventional combat and guerrilla fighting. Their courses and advise in military strategy and tactics are also reserved for officers and statesmen, most of whom are military men. In 1981, the Soviet ambassador advised Mozambican authorities to send away the South Africans employed at the Maputo port and airport on the pretext that they were engaging in espionage and sabotage. In is in order to prevent such action, which they label as "imperialist aggression," that the Soviets, through the used of Cuban and East German middlemen, offer protection for the territories and political regimes that seem to them to be pro-Soviet. The objective is to maintain the political status quo making it possible to ensure lasting cultural influence established by the USSR in Africa.

### 3. Use of Other Socialist and African Countries

The use of other countries is an important point in the Soviet strategy on Africa. In order to ensure the continuity of its cultural action, the USSR calls on East Germany, Bulgaria, Cuba, Poland and Czechoslovakia, which accept the principle of limited sovereignty and the alignment of their ideological and political views with those of the USSR. It rejects Albania, the People's Republic of China, Romania and Yugoslavia, which follow incompatible ideological views and strategy. This explains why, in 1980, the USSR proposed to Ethiopia to rally the progressive countries: Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and, curiously enough, Liberia, to intervene in threatened friendly countries.<sup>30</sup> The two Guineas, the Congo, Algeria and Libya were excluded from the Soviet-Ethiopian choice.

The conditions of the war in Angola in 1975 clearly reveal the application of this strategy, which led Mao's China into the camp of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), the Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), the United States and South Africa, defeated by the USSR, backed by Cuba, the Congo, East Germany and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola which it formed.

That victory increased the popularity of the USSR's military culture and brought about the decline of that of China, the United States and South Africa in Africa in the 1970's.<sup>31</sup>

Today, the strategy of using other states is inadequate because it leads to interventions regarded as imperialistic. It is being replaced by a strategy of the training of Africans who are to take the place of the many Cuban, Soviet and other socialist bloc instructors and advisers. This is what explains the presence in Cuba of 10,000 African children sent for long-term training and to become more permeable to foreign culture. As certain African and Western governments maintain, the objective of the USSR and its allies is to obtain cadres and soldiers who cannot be influenced by Western culture.

Whatever the case, the successes of the Soviet military culture in Angola, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and Zimbabwe in particular are fleeting. Those having to do with cultural relations as a whole: the presence of Africans in the USSR and of Soviets in Africa, are obvious. But the new strategy of using Africans in order to achieve objectives in Africa exposes the known and anticipated difficulties of this policy and its underlying strategy.

#### IV. Difficulties of the Soviet Cultural Policy in Africa

Although Soviet cultural penetration is evident in almost all African countries and opposing the South African bastion, considered by the USSR to be the representative of Western cultural interests, the policy of expanding its culture in Africa experiences serious setbacks due to the resistance of African and Western cultures and cool nature of diplomatic, cultural and military relations.

##### A. Resistance of African and Western Cultures

African and Western cultures constitute the first obstacle to Soviet culture. Because of their co-existence -- albeit stormy -- for at least two centuries, these cultures tend to form a single front whose solidity does not always depend on political imperatives affecting Soviet policy and the culture it uses as a subtle means of penetration. This front tends to be consolidated, not only because of the hostility of nations ideologically linked with the West, but also because of proposals to rebuild cultural zones such as the French-speaking sphere and the Commonwealth (existing institutionally), whose strength is revealed in the expansion of their instrument of cultural expression: English, to the French-, Portuguese, Arabic- and Spanish-speaking areas of Africa.

These difficulties are intensified because of the persistence of so-called traditional African cultures which the nations tend to rehabilitate. The various slogans of a return to authenticity or African cultural values, the slogan of "Africa for Africans" and the repeated condemnations of cultural imperialism,<sup>32</sup> social imperialism and modern revisionism directly affecting the USSR,<sup>33</sup> illustrate the importance which Africans attach to promotion of the development of their own cultures and the difficulties affecting the force of Soviet cultural penetration in Africa. The statement by Leopold Sedar Senghor to the effect that "if you send Africans to Moscow, they will be capitalists," confirms these difficulties.

Among the dominant elements of these African cultures, one must place the regional languages: Arabic, Swahili and Haoussa, which are studied in the academies and universities of the USSR and the West. Arabic is progressing more than Russian in UN organizations and, along with English and French, is viewed as a working language of the Pan-African institutions.

These considerations show that Russian as an instrument of penetration in Africa remains a language occasionally useful for studies in the USSR. The study done in 1979 and 1980 with 100 African students in the USSR confirms this observation. Only one saw any probability of using Russian as a working language in Africa. The rest considered that English, French, Arabic and the other African languages would have priority.

To these problems posed by Africans confronting the USSR directly through their countries one must add the resistance of the older generations of some tribes to all outside cultural values.

Finally, it should be noted that although since 1917 the Soviet culture pitted its humanistic side, it came too late to a continent where, as Jen Kou-pin stated on 16 May 1977, "the African peoples are aware of being the masters of the destiny of Africa."<sup>34</sup> This tardy penetration exposes the fact that it is still poorly known in Africa and partially explains the lack of warmth in Soviet-African cultural relations.

#### B. Coolness of Soviet-African Cultural Relations

The difficulties of this policy began in 1961 because of the unilateral suspension of cultural relations by the Congo (Kinshasa) following the death of Patrice Lumumba. In 1969, the Ivory Coast also broke off its relations unilaterally, denouncing the Soviet-Ivorian cultural agreement. Probably at the instigation of Belgium and the United States for the Congo and of France for the Ivory Coast, the Soviet agents were sent back to the USSR. The causes of these breaks were attributed by both African nations to the subversion organized by the USSR, which was training Congolese underground fighters and Ivorian socialist nationals.

In the 1970's, these difficulties grew because of the unilateral abrogation of treaties of friendship and cooperation that also organize cultural relations. These abrogations by Egypt on 15 March 1976 and Somalia on 13 November 1977 resulted in the departure of 6,000 military advisers and instructors, part of which were transferred to Ethiopia, which initially refused to receive them.<sup>35</sup>

In other countries, these problems had other dimensions. Some 150 experts left the Sudan following the attempted coup d'etat in 1971, clearly imputed to the diligence of the USSR. In addition to this was the imprisonment and execution of many Sudanese communists, accused of unproven relations with the USSR.<sup>36</sup>

In Nigeria, following the Biafran war of secession, the military aviation instructors who aided the federal army during the hostilities were sent back for negligence and condescension in their activity.

Guinea, on the other hand, began by kicking out the Soviet ambassador, who was followed, in 1980, by the two last military advisers assigned there.<sup>37</sup> After the stay of the American instructors in May 1981, Liberia took a similar measure against all Soviet military advisers. In addition, as in Guinea, there was an immediate reduction in personnel at the Soviet Embassy in the Liberian capital.<sup>38</sup>

Starting in the early 1980's, the USSR encountered the resistance and alienation of progressive and Marxist-Leninist countries: Angola, the Congo, Ethiopia and Mozambique, which opened up to the Western nations. The reason for this opening to the West is the search for adequate civilian and military aid and for a balance in cultural relations in particular.

The Congo, which agreed to conclude a treaty of friendship and cooperation in 1981, rejected the inclusion of clauses with military implications. Furthermore, it tends more and more to draw closer to France for the organization of its army and security. Since 1980, Ethiopia has sought economic aid and advisers for the development of its agriculture and has not set up the Marxist-Leninist party advised by the Soviets. And, at the time he took office as president of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1983, the Ethiopian chief of state undoubtedly pointed out to the USSR as well his opposition to any foreign intervention in African affairs.

Mozambican authorities explain their disappointment by the facts that at the "Nampula Academy, the Soviet instructors train tank personnel based on methods used by the Warsaw Pact. For 7 years, Mozambican officer candidates have not studied close combat or bush survival techniques in order to fight the RNM [Mozambican National Resistance] guerrillas. The Soviets require the purchase of sophisticated weapons that are ineffective for bush fighting. It is as if they (the Soviets) wanted that war to continue." Mozambique's current objective is to have its people trained in other countries that would also be willing to help Mozambique in other areas.<sup>39</sup> North Korea was the first country to agree to train 60 Mozambican guerrilla experts. The United States regrets not accepting immediately that country's proposals for cooperation and, as Portugal has done for the training of guerrilla specialists, anticipates examining those proposals. Brazil, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy were consulted and are already active in the economic field, where cultural considerations also come into play.

Following the example of the Congo, Angola is trying to establish relations with the United States, even if the initial contacts were negative because the American Government demands, as a precondition, the departure of the Cubans and other military advisers from the East now stationed on Angolan territory.

All these unfavorable attitudes toward the USSR on the part of African nations are strengthened by the rejection of many Africans not interested in the works of Lenin and the posters of Marx, Engels and Lenin plastered on the main capital squares and who refuse to cooperate with the Soviets who act as if they were in a conquered territory.

## Conclusion

Although the Soviet cultural aid still valued by the Africans justifies the strategy of the penetration of Africa by the USSR, its humanitarian nature and conformity with the objectives of the liberation and development of Africa are questions which Africans ask themselves.

The requirement imposed on Africans in the USSR to study Marxism-Leninism and to conform to the political and ideological views of the Soviet Union is a form of cultural indoctrination reminiscent of that of the colonial period. Scientific research questioning the Western ideologies of the domination and exploitation of Africa are highly appreciated by Africans. However, it reveals that the USSR has understood and believes that the strategy of the penetration of Africa depends on "the occupation of minds" in order to create African Soviet agents better accepted by the local populations.

Whatever the case, the form of penetration now used by the USSR contradicts the principles it set for itself.

In 1975, in the statement by Soviet officials following the victory of the MPLA in Angola, Africa is considered as the extension of the imperialist West: It must be liberated and the USSR was going about it. This is a rejection of the principle of peaceful coexistence.

During the 25th Congress of the CPSU in 1976, Brezhnev affirmed that "in a world conceived in two blocs, even positive neutrality cannot be tolerated." There is consequently an obligation to take sides.

On 7 July 1976, Brezhnev declared: "The USSR has no interests of its own in Africa, but it deems it its duty to give moral and material support to the real soldiers of freedom there." In his speech delivered on the occasion of the visit of Carrillo, secretary general of the Spanish Communist Party (PCE), to Moscow in 1976, Brezhnev hinted that "even if peaceful coexistence demands nonintervention in the domestic affairs of nations, the USSR will respond to the appeal of any revolution in the world." Nor was there any need to wait for proof: First came the intervention in Afghanistan and the confirmation of Soviet intentions in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe in the 1970's, and today, in Namibia, for its future penetration of South Africa with which it has secret agreements for the sale of diamonds. This is also the clear affirmation of its obligation for or against ratios of forces affecting culture in general and the dominant ideology of the USSR in particular.

Even if the complexity of its cultural policy and the strategy of penetration underlying it prevent hasty conclusions on permanent results, one can nevertheless point up the ambiguity of the liberating attitude of the Soviet Union with regard to Africa. The undeniable interest in African culture and the search for ways to overcome the colonial impasse rouse, however, the vigilance of Africans concerning any form of penetration, even inspired by the (ideal) directives of Lenin.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Civilization must be considered as a set of cultural values used to subjugate Africa for economic reasons. South Africa still uses this argument of the contribution of Western civilization to justify apartheid.
2. See my article: "A Soviet Strategy, the Bases for a Cultural Policy," AFRIQUE, July 1980, No 37, pp 40-41. See: "Documents of the Academy of Sciences," African Institute, Moscow, 1975.
3. A. Gromyko, "Lenin and Africa," AFRIQUE ET ASIE AUJOURD'HUI, July-August 1980, No 4, pp 2-3.
4. V. Lenin, "Oeuvres Choisies," Vol 3, Ed. du Progres, Moscow, 1962, pp 574 and 908.
5. L. Dollot, "International Cultural Relations," PUF, Paris, 1968, pp 88-89.
6. L. Dollot, op. cit., p 88.
7. See: A. A. Zvorkyne, "Cultural Policy in the USSR," ETUDES ET DOCUMENTS, UNESCO, Paris 1970. See: "Program of the CPSU," Moscow, 1967.
8. The cultures of growth and fulfillment are those imposed by England, Belgium, Spain, France and Portugal in Africa and that had to be assimilated. The South African Boers considered, on the other hand, that the natives: the Blacks, Indians and Colored, do not need cultural assimilation, that is, to adopt Western culture.
9. A. A. Zvorkyne, op. cit.
10. The political neutralism of Egypt went from 1922 to 1956. It was broken when the United States refused to grant Egypt a loan for construction of the Aswan Dam and the nationalization of the Suez Canal, which led to the intervention of English and French troops.
11. M. Duverger, "Constitutions and Political Documents," PUF, Paris, 1981, p 271. The French Constitution (still in effect) of the Fifth Republic provides, in Article 78, for control of higher education by the French Community, which Guinea rejected.
12. In the Congo, the borders between Marxism-Leninism and scientific socialism are not defined.
13. Unlike in the Western countries, the USSR immediately took a position against the Biafran secession and supplied arms and military instructors to the Nigerian Federation.
14. Somalia tried to use the USSR against Ethiopia, which controls part of Somali territory and Eritrea. In 1974, Ethiopia became a progressive

state and asked for Soviet military assistance, which was granted. In 1976, Somalia tried to make war on Ethiopia, but was defeated. In the face of the failure of its objectives and the insistence of the Arab countries of the Middle East, it broke with the USSR in 1977, which had tried to reconcile them in order to better control the Horn of Africa.

C. Wauthier and H. Bourges, "The 50 Africas," Vol 2, Ed. Seuil, Paris, 1979, p 118.

15. "Articles and Documents," No 01891, DOCUMENTATION FRANCAISE, Paris, 16 February 1968, p 2.
16. In 1967, the USSR had 14,000 African and Asian students and over half were African. According to Dollot, op cit., p 58, France had only 4,000 African students at that time and that number is declining because of the increasing number of universities in Africa.
17. Figure given by official of the House of Friendship with the Peoples of Africa.
18. JEUNE AFRIQUE, No 1052, 4 March 1981, p 73.
19. Figure given by an official of the House of Friendship with Peoples of Africa.
20. "Articles and Documents," op cit.
21. "Articles and Documents," No 01415, DOCUMENTATION FRANCAISE, Paris, 1968, p 2.
22. "Articles and Documents," No 01415, op cit.
23. "Articles and Documents," No 01891, op cit., p 3.
24. The Nigerians said that they were surprised to see that the USSR has huts reminding them of those in Kano (northern Nigeria).
25. "Articles and Documents," No 01415, op cit.
26. Anti-Sovietism means talking modern revisionism and social imperialism. The use of these terms, created by the China of Mao Tse-tung and adopted by Albania, by student Felix Tchicaya in the 1970's cost him his diploma.
27. Soviet diplomas questioned in Africa are those in medicine, mainly because of errors in terminology committed in practice by certain Africans, who considered themselves to be doctors of medicine although their diplomas stated that they were medical assistants.
28. Pro-Soviets who contribute to the expansion of the USSR, which they use for their own interests: takeover or maintenance of power or a post.

29. "Political and Social Problems," No 320, DOCUMENTATION FRANCAISE, Paris, 30 September 1977, pp 9-10. JEUNE AFRIQUE, No 1010, 14 May 1980, p 33. JEUNE AFRIQUE, No 1033, 22 October 1980, p 49. JEUNE AFRIQUE, No 1060, 29 April 1981, pp 42-46. BULLETIN D'AFRIQUE, No 10288, AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE, Paris, 4 October 1980. LE MONDE, 13 July 1983, p 3. "The USSR and the Countries of Africa," Ed. La Pensee, Moscow, 1977, p 311.
30. JEUNE AFRIQUE, No 1037, 19 November 1980, p 41.
31. This defeat had grave political consequences in China, where the strategy consisting of allying with American imperialism to counter (the so-called growing social imperialism) the USSR has been seriously questioned by many Chinese.
32. LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, March 1977, pp 29-30.
33. These political and ideological concepts are also cultural because they are used within the framework of a form of culture (political and ideological): Marxism-Leninism.
34. Jen Kou-Ping, PEKIN INFORMATION, No 20, 16 May 1977.
35. BULLETIN D'AFRIQUE, op cit.
36. LE MONDE, 9-10 August 1971.
37. JEUNE AFRIQUE, No 1006, 16 Apr 1980, p 32.
38. LE MONDE, 13 May 1981, p 4.
39. LE MONDE, 17 May 1983, p 5.

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ETHIOPIA

BRIEFS

BENDJEDID MESSAGE TO MENGISTU--Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam, OAU chairman, today received a message from Chadli Bendjedid of Algeria. The message was delivered by Comrade Abdelaziz Khellef, Central Committee member of the Algerian National Liberation Front Party and minister of commerce, in a ceremony held at the COPWE office. President Bendjedid's message centred on prevailing African problems and in particular on the Chad and Western Sahara issues. [Summary] [EA310659 Addis Ababa Domestic Service in Amharic 1700 GMT 26 Oct 83 EA]

CASTRO MESSAGE TO MENGISTU--Mengistu Haile Mariam this afternoon received a message from Fidel Castro. The message was delivered by Major General Sixto Batista Santana, alternate member of the Politbureau of the Communist Party of Cuba and head of the political affairs department of the armed forces. [Summary] [EA310659 Addis Ababa Domestic Service in Amharic 1700 GMT 25 Oct 83 EA]

CSO: 3403/5

MINISTER 'EXPLAINS' NATION'S AUSTERITY BUDGET

Niamey SAHEL HEBDO in French No 376, 26 Sep 83 p 5

/Text/ Following the adoption of the 1984 austerity budget by the Council of Ministers at meetings held on 11, 12, 13 and 14 September, Dr Annou Mahamane, minister of plan, commerce and transportation, and Hamid Algabid, minister delegate of finance, "explained" the budget.

This budget balances receipts and payments in the amount of 80,234,985,000 francs CFA. It is lower primarily by reason of the collapse of uranium prices but also due to the repercussions of the international economic and financial crisis on our economy that is, moreover, subject to climatic ups and downs.

The slow-down of investments and the maladjustment of our fiscal system are among the factors that explain the drop in the 1984 budget. Nobody considers it a recovery budget; in other words it is based entirely on assured government revenues.

Faithful to their austerity policy, the government authorities estimate that the improvement in tax revenues might generate new resources.

The minister delegate of finance enumerated the various measures adopted by the government to improve our financial situation:

- The institution of a tax on certain business overheads;
- The institution of a provisional anticipated tax payment with respect to industrial and commercial earnings (BIC);
- A raise in the ceiling of the flat rate for taxpayers. The scope of application of this measure will be widened and thereby support, in particular, the reform recommended for the scope of application of the flat rate tax on profits. In the view of Minister Hamid Algabid, this will result in the improved assessment of taxpayers by individualizing fiscal files, the revaluation of tax bases of benefits in kind with respect to income taxes on salaries and wages and general income tax (IGR).

Other measures are proposed to refill the treasury: The extension of the scope of the apprenticeship tax to taxpayers anticipating IC /expansion unknown/ on non-commercial benefits, an increase in the tax on the provision of services invoiced by the Posts and Telecommunications Office, a rise in the rounding-off tax, the

complete reform of the IGR, the expansion of the powers of the finance minister, especially with respect to fiscal approval and exemptions.

The measures concerning property and registration are characterized by an increase in some charges (stamp duty, car licenses, drivers' licenses, passports, and so on), the adjustment of the tax on stock and share dividends.

With regard to customs duty, the minister delegate of finance indicated the following: "We expect to transform the special tax on hydrocarbon to an ad valorem tax, increase demurrage charges, transportation and toll charges and standardize the computation of production tax."

It is assumed that these measures will effectively meet the situation. Austerity will be pursued with even greater rigor, and the checks on consumption and borrowing will be stricter than in the past.

Dr Annou Mahamane, minister of state, minister of plan, commerce and transportation, for his part dwelt at length on the resources of the National Investment Fund (FNI), identical to those of the previous administration: 7 billion francs CFA.

As Dr Annou explained, the fund is distinguished by the large proportion earmarked for the other parties to the projects. The remaining part is devoted to such sectors as education, training, health, communication and administrative infrastructures.

11698  
CSO: 3419/56

SONICHAIR'S FINANCIAL PROBLEMS, PROSPECTS NOTED

Niamey SAHEL HEBDO in French No 376, 26 Sep 83 pp 9, 10

Article by Oumarou Ali: "Standard Production Until 1988"

/Excerpts/ Sonichar is a Nigerien mixed economy company. The Nigerien state holds 62.40 percent of the capital. Other shares are held by various Nigerien companies, and a single foreign stockholder owns 10 percent of the capital. Established in 1975 and operating since 1981, Sonichar has already scored some successes, but the international situation has not left it unscathed.

Niger is a country that fits the rhythm of its evolution. Aware that energy is the main element of progress, it devoted great efforts to it in past years--the purchase of electric generators, the Niamey II power plant, transmission of electricity from Kaindji and important projects still proceeding in this field.

Still, these electric generators and the Kaindji transmission line are not enough, and the proposed projects rather too far in the future in face of the urgent need, emphasized since 1973 by the oil crisis and its consequences for the supply of oil products. It was imperative to find energy that would cost little money, energy based on a domestic product--coal; an energy source that would reduce our dependence on the outside.

That is why the Nigerien Coal Company was established in the Niger mining region--Anou Araren at Agades. General Seyni Kountche welcomed this establishment in one of his messages to the nation: "The coal of Anou Araren represents one of the great energetic opportunities in the region. It will allow us to reduce our energetic dependence that makes our economy so vulnerable and costs us so much."

Taken into service in April 1981, the heating plant at Anou Araren was designed to rapidly meet its objective. In 1981 and 1982, the years of the respective start of operations in the first and second blocks, Sonichar produced more than 100 million kilowatt hours, representing more than 30 million tons of gas-oil equivalent. It also supplies electricity to the entire mining region, including the cities of Arlit and Agades. Mahamane Ouhoumondou, general manager of the power plant, is therefore quite justified in saying that Niamey and Agades consume almost 80 percent of electric energy in the Niger.

Founded in 1975 and officially inaugurated in 1981, Sonichar has not had an easy beginning. Actually the idea of such a corporation had been around since 1964, when the Commission on Atomic Energy (CEA) discovered the coal deposit while carrying on geological explorations aimed at finding uranium. However, in view of the low calorific power (50 percent ash) of the coal discovered and the (then) reasonable price of hydrocarbons, exploitation was considered uneconomic. It had to wait until the aftermath of 1973, when more accurate studies were made; the first meeting in 1974 was decisive because it led to the establishment of Sonichar in 1975 and, in 1980, lenders were forthcoming (the Nigerien state, international financial institutions such as BAO /expansion unknown/, BADEA /Arab Bank for African Economic Development/, IDB /Islamic Development Bank/, WADB /West African Development Bank/, CCE /Central Fund for Economic Cooperation/, Kuwait Fund, and so on) to finance the first block by making available 40 billion francs CFA. The second block, in 1982, was to cost 26 billion.

Because of the peak capacities required and the coal reserves available, the net capacity of the plant amounts to 32 megawatt. That is one of the reasons why it is operating in two blocks. Each of the two blocks operates autonomously so as to permit the greatest possible flexibility. In case of a breakdown, the complex is equipped with two sets of generators of 2.2 megawatt, so that it can maintain emergency supplies.

The volume of coal definitely available is 6 million tons on a surface of almost 2 square kilometers. These reserves will allow the plant to operate for about 25 years. At the same time studies carried out in 1975 and confirmed in 1982 indicate the presence of supplementary reserves capable of exploitation and estimated at 13.7 million tons. Nine millions of these may be mined without undue difficulty.

Exploitation proceeds in steps of 10 meters. The rock is pulverized by explosives. The main mining equipment expected to be used in the first 5 years of operations is made up of 3 drills with mobile compressors, 2 light compressors and hammers, 10 32-ton trucks, 5 loaders of 5 cubic meters, 4 pushers, 1 grader, 1 compactor and 1 sprinkler.

The work is organized in two shifts per day.

In the coal stockpile, the mineral is reduced to a granular condition suitable for the boiler at the plant. This is done by stages: Primary crushing, manual sifting, piling it up again and finally crushing and screening once more. The hourly volume of piling is 350 tons. However, the plant has circuits that require water to function. A sweet water deposit was located 28 km west of the plant site. (Incidentally, for security reasons several boreholes were sunk). The pumping station is supplied with 20 kw of energy from Anou Araren, and the water can be pumped directly to two reservoirs on the site, holding 5,000 cubic meters.

One of Sonichar's great merits is its policy of Nigerizing the management. Almost 1½ billion francs CFA were devoted to training Nigeriens for 2 years at the time of production. Many jobs are also held by young Nigeriens who have little professional experience.

Sonichar's current situation is not easy. Since 1981 the difficulties on the uranium market have had repercussions on its progress. Along with the drop in the

production of the existing mines and the slow-down in the construction of the other projects (SMTT /expansion unknown/, Imouraren, Afasto), it is unable to sell more than the output of one block, although two are now in operation. The supervisor explained to us that this is due to financial problems, but that a plan for adjustments has now been worked out and will be implemented from 1984 on.

Still, in the coming years output will be standard until 1988. Incidentally, it is hoped that the situation will improve once the SMTT starts operations. Assuming, of course, that the uranium market does not worsen.

11698  
CSO: 3419/56

SPU STARTS IMPORTANT CROSS-ISLE ROAD PROJECT

Victoria NATION in English 7 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Text]

**WORK started this week on a major cross-island project that will see Bougainville on Mahé's east coast linked to Baie Lazare on the west coast in one-and-a-half years time by a hard surface road.**

The project is being carried out by the Special Projects Unit (SPU) whose workers started this week to improve an existing earth road to form a proper base for an all-weather reinforced concrete surface.

The road from Bougainville that is being upgraded branches into two at Val d'Andorre, joining the West Coast Road at Anse Gaulettes and near the Baie Lazare Police Station.

### **Agricultural development**

An SPU spokesman said yesterday that the upgrading of the six-kilometre-long road would open up the Val d'Andorre farming area to more

agricultural development as well as provide speedier communication with the coasts for the people living in the hills.

In another road project, SPU workers will also start improving the 1.5-kilometre Labâti earth road at Mare Anglaise next month.

As for materials for its projects, the SPU recently opened a stone quarry on state land at Anse aux Pins. This will supply stones and aggregate to be used in two month's time to repair and reinforce a sea wall from Anse aux Pins to Anse Faure.

### **Recreational complex**

A sand quarry which is selling construction material to the public as well as supplying SPU projects, has also been opened at Beau Vallon, while at La Gogue the capacity of a third quarry to produce stones and aggregate has been doubled.

In Victoria, work has resumed on the playing field along La Promenade which is already in constant use by footballers and other sportsmen from the districts that make up the capital.

Special Projects Unit workers are unblocking drains around the football pitch which they will later widen by five metres. The SPU also hopes to build a terrace for spectators between the field and 5th June Avenue and plans to build another bridge over the Moosa River which runs between the field and the School Meals Centre. Nets to stop balls from falling into the

river or going on the other side will be set up.

The area between the south end of the pitch and the Mainstry River or the entrance to La Promenade will be levelled and converted into another sports ground.

Eventually, the whole area between the Moosa and St. Louis Rivers, including that now used for fun fairs behind Oceangate House, will be turned into a sports and recreational complex.

The Schools Meals Centre already doubles as an indoor volleyball, basketball, badminton and netball court.

CSO: 3400/131

PLO YOUTH DELEGATION REPORTED IMPRESSED WITH NYS

Victoria NATION in English 7 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Text]

A TWO-MAN youth delegation from the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) held talks yesterday with Youth and Defence Minister Ogilvy Berlouis after meeting other leading Seychelles People's Progressive Front and youth officials this week.

The delegation, which is touring several African states on a twofold mission, consists of Mr. Ruuhi Fatouh, a Tunisian-based member of the PLO Central Executive Committee and a secretary of the General Union of Palestinian Students (GUPS), and Mr. Abdelaziz Abougosh, a member of the GUPS Administrative Council and PLO representative in Dar-es-Salaam.

They said after their meeting with Colonel Berlouis that they were bringing the countries they visited up to date on the present stage of the Palestinian Revolution and

strengthening relations between GUPS and African youth and students' organisations.

Earlier this week, the delegation called on SPPF Secretary-General Guy Sinon at the Maison du Peuple, Youth and Defence Principal Secretary Ralph Adam, and Seychelles Women's Association Chairman Rita Sinon.

Yesterday afternoon they called on Education and Information Principal Secretary Jérémie Bonnelame.

The delegation told the government information services that with the youth officials they discussed the set up of the two sides' respective youth movements and the progress they are making.

**Impressed**

The delegation was very impressed with the National Youth Service after visiting the

Ste. Anne village and believed that the future of Seychelles would depend on the militants produced by the Service.

Speaking for the delegation, Mr. Abougosh said that it had been very interesting to compare the progress of the Palestinian and Seychelles revolutions, to exchange views on the situation in both Palestine and Seychelles and to examine the problems and destabilization attempts against the PLO and other revolutionary movements.

"We consider ourselves, the Palestinians, as brothers and frontline comrades of all libe-

ration movements and progressive forces," Mr. Abougosh said.

He added that it was essential that PLO/Seychellois youth relations be "pushed forward".

"By strengthening relations between the youth, we strengthen relations between countries," Mr. Abougosh said.

The PLO delegation left Seychelles last night hoping that this visit would be followed by more exchanges of views and experiences in future.

**SAP**

CSO: 3400/131

ANALYSIS OF RETAINED IMPORTS USE

Victoria NATION in English 4 Oct 83 p 2

[Text]

OVER 18 per cent or nearly R104 million worth of Seychelles' retained imports last year consisted of food and beverages consumed by households, according to a Statistics Division analysis of how imports are used here.

Retained imports are those foreign goods that are used in Seychelles and not re-exported, as in the case of imported fuel sold to passing foreign ships and aircraft.

In all, 20.4 per cent of the value of retained imports in 1982 were for foods and beverages, but 2.1 per cent of this was for industrial use — for example, flour for making bread and hops for making beer.

Other consumer goods used by the public at large amounted to 19.6 per cent or R111 million worth of retained imports.

Industrial supplies took up 26 per cent, and fuels and lubricants 11.9 per cent. However, part of the latter — motor spirit, kerosene, lubricating oils — was used by households, and the rest by industry. In fact all kerosene, 20 per cent of motor spirit and five per cent of lubricating oil is assumed to have been used by households.

Capital goods — that is fixed assets such as machinery and equipment for industrial use — excluding transport equipment, comprised 14 per cent.

Transport equipment for both household — cars bicycles, boats, outboard engines, etc. — and industrial use came to 3.7 per cent. Thirty per cent of the value of cars imported, 90 per cent of motor cycles and bicycles and 10 per cent of outboard

engines are believed to have been bought by households.

In all, the Statistics Division analysis suggests that in 1982, 45.1 per cent of Seychelles' retained imports were intermediate goods for local industry and used by producers of goods and services or as parts and accessories for capital and consumer goods. This includes import used by hotels and restaurants. Another 37.6 per cent or R213 million worth of retained imports were consumed by households, and 17.3 per cent were capital goods.

Looking especially at hotels and restaurants, the Statistics Division says that these used R9.4 million worth of imported beverages and R400,000 of imported cigarettes.

In all, compared to 1980, the proportion of imports consisting of consumer goods increased from 34.2 per cent to 37.6 per cent last year, a rise of nearly R32 million. The proportions contributed by capital and intermediate goods went down. **SAP**

CSO: 3400/131

BRIEFS

PRESIDENT'S OFFICE REORGANIZED--With the appointment of the Principal Secretary for Administration, Mrs Simone Testa, as Principal Secretary in the President's Office also, the President's Office has been reorganised into two main Divisions. As Principal Secretary in the President's Office, Mrs Testa is now responsible for the Personnel and Management Division and the President's Private Office Division. Mrs Testa and the Personnel and Management Division, the successor to the Department of Administration, remain based at National House, Le Chantier. The Division will continue to deal with the management of the public service, including manpower planning, administrative policy and all personnel matters. All communications on these matters should be addressed to the Principal Secretary, President's Office, P.O. Box 56, National House. The President's Private Office Division, which deals with electoral matters, portfolio allocation, international agreements and relations with the public and the judiciary among other duties, remains based at State House. SAP [Text] [Victoria NATION in English 7 Oct 83 p 1]

CSO: 3400/131

SOUTH AFRICA

REAGAN ADMINISTRATION FOREIGN POLICY DISCUSSED

Pretoria DIE TRANSVALER in Afrikaans 26 Sep 83 p 10

[Editorial: "The New America"]

[Text] The America of the Reagan era will be set aside by historians as the America which pulled itself out of the pacifist role and no longer shrank away from asserting itself as leader.

Numerous actions in the recent past testify to this.

When it became clear that Russia was firmly strengthening its position in Central America, America, with a show of military strength of a seldom seen scope, said as it were: up to here but no further.

- In spite of the Vietnam psychosis, President Reagan decided that his fleet should hit back if the rebels in Lebanon threaten the American peacekeeping force.
- Especially in the United Nations, the American representatives off and on speak a kind of aggressive truth of which the country and its people can only be proud. And which gives the small democracies in the world renewed hope.

Ten years ago, as the Nixon administration's ambassador to the United Nations, Mr Daniel Moynihan labeled the organization's activities as "the theatre of the absurd" -- on another occasion, the sharp tongued Mr Moynihan referred to the decline of democratic values in the United Nations and added "there is blood in the water and the sharks are frenzied."

In the recent past, the current ambassador, Mrs Kirkpatrick, and her colleagues have also attacked this kind of blood-thirstiness and cold-bloodedness in the most aggressive language. This reached a high point last week when Mr Charles Lichtenstein said: "If member states of the United Nations want to leave New York, we will very gladly go say goodby to them at the harbor."

Truly a sharp contrast with the pitiful pacifism of Ambassador Andrew Young of the Carter period.

The clear rejection of Mr Carter as president was undoubtedly the resurrection of an America which is still proud of being a world leader and an anti-communist bastion.

SOUTH AFRICA

RELATIONS BETWEEN LESOTHO, SOUTH AFRICA DISCUSSED

Bloemfontein DIE VOLKSLAD in Afrikaans 13 Sep 83 p 8

[Editorial: "Lesotho's Game"]

[Text] Lesotho is a small and poor country which is very much dependent on charity to keep going. It receives the largest contributions from countries and bodies which are not sympathetic to South Africa and therefore it usually joins the choir against the republic.

However, it is beginning to appear as if hard reality is dawning and Lesotho realizes that the effects on the country of trying to turn a stiff back to South Africa are too serious. Reports from that country indicate that South Africa's pressure concerning the harboring of terrorists is beginning to bear fruit.

After Lesotho backed down last week about the removal of so-called refugees from the country, the latest reports state that those people have already left the country voluntarily and with the help of the United Nations Organization. In this respect it is said that nobody was forced to get out.

Lesotho will naturally deny that it put pressure on them to get out, because it could dry up the sources of charity if it were to become evident that the country is dancing to South Africa's tune. It is forced to continue to pretend that South Africa commits cruelties which makes people flee to Lesotho and that Lesotho itself is also the victim of such cruelties.

On the other hand, Lesotho is aware of its strong dependence on South Africa and it does not dare stubbornly to continue to harbor terrorists. The consequences of such action are painful for Lesotho and it has felt the full brunt of it this spring.

The truth is that Lesotho has taken South Africa's warnings and the possible consequences of its actions thoroughly to heart. If this were not the case, not a single so-called refugee would have left the country, with or without the help of the United Nations.

8463  
CSO: 3401/8

BUSINESS WITH SRI LANKA REPORTED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 20 Oct 83 p 25

[Text]

COLOMBO.—Trade between Sri Lanka and South Africa has continued uninterrupted for decades, both in imports and exports. Both State and private sectors are engaged in commercial activity.

Traditionally, South Africa has been a big buyer of Lankan Tea, reaching an import figure of R7,8-million, besides the import of natural rubber, coconut and agricultural products, the Trade Ministry in Colombo announced.

Taiwan, another country that Sri Lanka politically continues to deny existence, was allowed to trade with Lanka and trade between Taipei and Colombo is confined to the private sector only.

For years, there was no trade link between the two countries because Sri Lanka continued to recognise politically only

mainland Communist China and although communist China frowns on Colombo's trading links with Taiwan, as some countries do about such links with South Africa, Sri Lanka continues, not only expanding trade connections, but is now working on linking the countries by its national carrier, Air Lanka.

Taiwan has acquired quite a name in imports to Sri Lanka following the great liberalisation of imports by the ruling Right-wing United National Party Government in 1977 which led to the creation of what is popularly called the "open market economy".

Ready made garments, the quality of which has worried United States markets, but which now enjoy better quotas both from the United States and the EEC, are likely to find new markets in South Africa soon, according to

top trade sources in Colombo.

The South African market for Lankan products is varied. In the last two years Colombo has been exporting to South Africa desiccated coconut (value R2,2-million), cashew nuts R400 000), tea in packets (302 000) chemical products (R257 000), natural crepe rubber (466 666), natural latex rubber (R711 000) scrape crepe rubber (R1,46-million), natural sheet rubber (R48 000) and industrial products which reached a new hight of value to R10,6-million.

In 1981 Sri Lankan exports to South Africa totalled R14,2-million, but imported from South Africa goods valued at R29,4-million. In 1981 South Africa sold goods to Sri Lanka valued at R17,2-million and bought from Sri Lanka goods worth R13,8-million.—Sapa.

SOUTH AFRICA

NP MAY RECEIVE AMERICAN FUNDS FOR REFERENDUM

Pretoria DIE AFRIKANER in Afrikaans 21 Sep 83 p 3

[Article: "Suspicion About NP Funds for Referendum Increases -- Chiavelli's Name Also Mentioned"]

[Text] Suspicion is rapidly increasing about the enormous amounts of money the NP [National Party] is spending in its referendum campaign. Speculation which has reached DIE AFRIKANER in recent weeks, centers on the idea that the source of these funds may not be limited to English speaking and Jewish businessmen in South Africa, but that funds probably find their way to the coffers of the NP from abroad. America is mentioned point-blank in this respect.

The close alliance between the NP and local money bases was demonstrated once again last week when the executive vice president of Anglo-American-Lewens, Mr Shlomo Peer, announced that he would resign at the end of the year in order to devote himself fulltime to NP activities. Last year, Dr Peer, who is a member of the executive committee of the NP in Transvaal, played a key role in a secret meeting between NP leaders and representatives of big money interests.

It is thought that on that occasion the prime minister, Mr P.W. Botha, and the NP leader in Transvaal, Mr F.W. de Klerk, asked the businessmen for a sum of 3 million rand to carry out the government's constitutional plans. In addition to Dr Peer, Messrs Basil Landau and Louis Luyt were also present on that occasion. Messrs Basil Hersov from Anglo-Vaal and Mike Rosholt from Barlow Rand also received invitations, but did not accept them. A report to this effect in DIE AFRIKANER was later denied by Dr Jannie Pieterse, chief secretary of the NP in Transvaal.

According to rumors circulating last year, at that time the NP had already received 405,000 rand from the Anglo-American stable. That report was also denied by Dr Pieterse. Last year, the NP also sent a circular letter to businessmen in which executives were asked for a 50,000 rand donation to the party.

A commotion arose in recent weeks when a Sunday newspaper from Natal, the SUNDAY TRIBUNE, claimed that the Johannesburg millionaire, Dr Mario Chiavelli, is the NP's secret guarantor. The TRIBUNE wrote that he thought he had donated at least 2 million rand to the NP. The NP's chief information official, Dr Jan Grobler, told the newspaper that Dr Chiavelli could be one of the contributors to the NP campaign. However, it is not true that Dr Chiavelli has contributed 2 million rand, he said.

According to the report, Dr Chiavelli was allegedly also involved in providing monetary aid to the ruling People's National Party in Ghana in 1979. That party was later overthrown in a coup.

#### Campaign

Dr Chiavelli, whose income is thought to be 1 billion rand per year, rose to notoriety because of the large sums of money he spends on the purchase of houses and antiques. He is also frequently in the news because of his friendship with local beauty queens.

It has been estimated that the NP's nationwide advertising campaign in Sunday and daily newspapers has already cost more than 500,000 rand. It is expected that the campaign will be continued and will culminate on election day, 2 November. This could ultimately cost millions of rand -- between 4 and 6 million rand.

Political observers completely disregard the possibility that such a large amount could be collected from ordinary party members. Local businessmen undoubtedly contribute a large part of this amount. Nevertheless, it is considered a strong possibility that overseas money is also involved. The most probable source is America, where the Reagan administration is very interested in the implementation of the constitutional allocation. President Reagan's policy toward South Africa is based precisely on the condition that "changes" continue to occur.

It would not be altogether unusual for the American government to contribute to the referendum campaign of the NP through secret channels. The South African government did the same thing during the sixties to put Leabua Jonathan in power in Lesotho. On that occasion, the Broederbond was used as a channel.

Mr Derek Carstens, the executive director of Klerck, Marais and Potgieter, which handles the advertising campaign of the NP, was a PFP [Progressive Federal Party] candidate in the 1979 provincial elections. Last week Mr Carstens told newspapers that he supports the new constitution and that he regrets the fact that the PFP has taken a position against it.

8463  
CSO: 3401/8

SOUTH AFRICA

SLABBERT, BUTHELEZI MEETING TO DISCUSS REFERENDUM

Meeting Called Intimidation Attempt

Bloemfontein DIE VOLKSBLAD in Afrikaans 23 Sep 83 p 10

[Editorial: "Politics of Intimidation"]

[Text] Threats and intimidation are common characteristics of politics as conducted in Africa north of the Limpopo, but they are definitely not normal election phenomena in South Africa. However, ominous signs of this have become visible recently and attempts are now being made to use them to further a no vote in the referendum.

On the far right there are hints of violence, especially from the Afrikaner Resistance Movement, and on the left Chief Minister Gatsha Buthelezi is supplementing the campaign of the PFP [Progressive Federal Party] by referring to sanctions and to the withdrawal of investments in South Africa, while also making warning noises in the direction of the Indian community in Natal.

The extent to which the PFP is using Chief Buthelezi in its campaign is made clear by the party's challenge to Minister Owen Horwood and Mr Vause Raw to appear on a platform with Chief Buthelezi to debate the advantages and disadvantages of the new constitutional allocation.

It is a matter of course that such a challenge will not be accepted, because the leader of a black people is not involved in the draft constitution. The constitution deals with recognition of the Coloreds and the Indians who currently have far fewer political rights than the black peoples. If Buthelezi has to have a say in the matter, as the PFP would like, then why not also Mugabe or Jonathan?

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert says that he has as much right to talk to Chief Buthelezi as the government has to talk to the Reverend Allan Hendrickse. Absolutely correct, if it is only talking -- but this does not mean providing him with a political voice outside his state. Because what the PFP is not talking about is the fact that the government is continuing on the road toward giving each black population group the right to self-determination, and that this process has made much more progress than what has been achieved with the Coloreds and the Asians.

The referendum involves a first step in the direction of a confederation in which the right of minorities to self-determination will form the corner stone. The government will not let itself be intimidated into transferring power to the most numerous group.

#### Buthelezi Allegedly Being Used

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 24 Sep 83 p 10

[Article by Dawie in the column "From My Political Pen": "Van Now Takes Advantage of Blacks for his Flagging Boycotting"]

[Text] Sometimes Dr Van Zyl Slabbert can open up his eyes so wide with surprise to ask what he has done wrong this time. You would say that he is innocence personified and is being seriously wronged.

This is once again the case with his attempt to involve the Zulu leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, in the referendum.

What is so wrong with that, he wants to know. Doesn't the government also talk to colored leaders?

No Understanding

Can you top that?

Dr Slabbert feels that it is the same thing to "talk" to a colored leader who is about to become part of the constitutional system for the first time, as it is to call up Zulu support for a no vote in the white referendum!

Just as he showed a complete lack of political intuition when he began his boycott policy, he does not understand the sensitivity of calling on black people to help him settle his battle against fellow whites -- a battle he is in the process of losing.

Does Dr Slabbert not understand what is happening in this referendum and how his actions will be seen?

Change

It is strange that the Progressive Federal Party is not trying to determine why so many people are turning their backs on it and will vote yes. After all, they are not doing this because they are all stupid and ignorant.

One of their main motives is that they want to help prepare the country for the future. They realize that something must be done and that they can no longer reconcile themselves to boycotts, obstruction and negativism.

This change has also taken place across the color barrier. The colored Labor Party has recognized the futility of the boycott, which it had accepted itself in the past, and has experienced a dramatic change in mood.

Indeed, there must simply be an increasing number of people in the country who are wondering what would happen if the medley of negative groups were to get their way. Could it result in anything but confrontations and chaos?

While the process of hardening against the breakers in our politics is progressing, Dr Slabbert is setting off to look for help from the Zulus for his languishing no campaign and for new breath for his boycott policy.

And what is the first thing the Zulu leader did to make Dr Slabbert happy? He made direct use of Dr Slabbert's boycott idiom by saying that, if the yes votes win, he will be forced to reconsider his position toward international sanctions against South Africa.

#### Grasp Hands

If Dr Slabbert is laughing up his sleeve because he has managed to get the Zulu leader to threaten South Africa that way, then he does not understand that it is precisely against this kind of tendency that an increasing number of people in South Africa are reacting.

There is another consideration. The process which is in progress in the country proceeds from the need of reasonable people to grasp each other's hands and to form a solid front against the challenges of the future. There is no other way to obtain safety and security.

The lasting significance of the referendum will perhaps be the fact that a start has been made in forming a base to which conditions can be added in the future -- a base made up of whites and coloreds, which will be as broad as possible.

The voice of soberness will have to be clearly heard in this country if it wants to have a voice in future adventures.

It is this base which the no votes want to sabotage and which Dr Slabbert wants to kick to pieces. He cannot stand it that a plan in which he did not participate, might be able to succeed.

He also has another motive. He has noticed how his own power base is crumbling under him and he must, as the FFP posters correctly note, be worried about his and his party's future. Now he is looking for another standing place, and it looks as if he hopes to find it in black politics.

If he succeeds in his attempt, and with the help he is calling on, to wreck the plans of the reasonable people, then serious difficulties will be in the offing -- not just for him, but for the country as a whole.

#### Matches

Dr Slabbert is an academic who has never truly shown that he has mastered the subtleties and sensitivity of hard politics.

By taking advantage of black people now in order to wreck the yes votes in the referendum, he is busy playing with matches and gunpowder. It looks as if he does not altogether realize this.

Or is he very well aware of what he is doing?

8463  
CSO: 3401/6

REFERENDUM VOTE SUGGESTION TO SPOIL BALLOTS REJECTED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 14 Oct 83 p 10

[Article by Janet Levine]

[Text]

A third option, we are told, to voting "no" or "yes" in the referendum is to vote both "no" and "yes," in other words, to spoil our ballot paper.

We are told, among much other obfuscating illogic, that such a gesture will "satisfy the demands of conscience" and that an "X" marked across both options on the ballot is "the best vote available for effective progression to a workable common society."

If it were all only so simple.

A "no" vote, it is said, if it is a PFP "no," means "that it doesn't go far enough," while a CP-HNP "no" vote means "less mobility."

Yet a "yes" vote, we are told, means "that the Nationalists are going to see it as a vote for them" and "black Africans are going to see it as a vote against them."

And a spoilt paper is going to be the best option for the ensuring our progress to a stable, peaceful, integrated social order?

Come, come.

It is a remarkable fact of South African political life as to how many politicians and political commentators avoid direct contact with the essence of current issues. In fact, it has long been a game of mine to earmark for "success" those who develop the skills of the "red herring" game.

In the context of this article the "Third Option — Spoilt Paper" "red herring" shows a great aptitude for that game, putting it almost in the

same league as such other current "red herrings" as a "yes" vote "will be good for South Africa overseas" and that the changes embodied in the proposed constitution herald reform. Let's start there.

If the new constitution "heralds reform" (and for the life of me I can find nothing in the document to show me that it does so) then it means exactly that "a heralding" is "a heralding" and doesn't mean it is reform.

Reform means the acceptance of all South Africans whatever their colour, by all other South Africans whatever their colour, as full and equal citizens of South Africa.

Reform means giving the vote to all South African so that they can all participate in the government of their country in the same forums, whether these be federally structured or decentralised or local or national.

It does not mean entrenching apartheid in a new constitution in such a way that 70 percent of the population of the country are excluded from government by virtue of constitutional entrenchment which cannot be repealed.

Why must we poor buffeted voters, on top of everything else, also be asked to cast our vote for "what is good for South Africa overseas." Good for whom overseas? Private sector South African interests? Foreign investors? What about the interests of the many hundreds

of thousands of black employees of that same private sector.

Is a "yes" vote not going to be perceived by them as the acme of rejection, a new mark of how the attitudes and opinions of black South Africans is of secondary consequence to white business interests?

And what about the moderate and not so moderate South African leaders of colour who have called for a "no" vote? Must their voice be ignored to placate uninterested and misguided overseas opinion?

A spoilt paper in the current referendum is irresponsible at best. At worst it displays a frightening inclination to voyeurism. I believe that spoiling a paper is the action of effete, smug political dillententes.

It is their fight, they say, a fight between the Right and the not so Right Nationalists. Why should we get into the gutter and dirty our hands? If the PFP wants to be involved that's their business.

But it's not only the PFP. It's other white opposition groups, it's the United Democratic Front, it's a spectrum of moderate and not-so-moderate black leaders, it's Afrikaner academics, it's churches and teachers and newspapers.

This is not a constitution for the Nationalists or the Herstigte alone. It is your constitution. Your life will be governed by it.

Your future is determined by it.  
You must exercise your vote.

CSO: 3400/30

BUSINESS VOTE IN REFERENDUM EXAMINED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 16 Oct 83 p 35

[Editorial: "The Business Vote"]

[Text]

**F**EW things illustrate as clearly the change in South Africa's political climate as the role of the business community in the coming referendum.

Not many years ago businessmen — expressing a natural and justifiable concern about their country's political future — were roughly told by Mr John Vorster to leave politics to the politicians and go home and play with their cash registers.

Today, their opinions are sought, their support assiduously wooed by the very politicians who once believed that South Africa's business community should pay the piper, but could never call the tune.

Part of this metamorphosis in our national life is undoubtedly due to the free enterprise philosophy which has taken root in Pretoria.

But another — equally important — reason is that for the first time in three decades the "English vote" has emerged from the shadows of irrelevance to become a possibly deciding factor in a poll which could determine the future of a Nationalist Government.

And so — aware of the effect of peer group pressure or example on a confused electorate — politi-

cal parties have engaged in a lavish courtship which has exhausted the wooers and bemused the wooed.

In these circumstances it is not surprising that, as the respected doyen of South Africa's business community, all eyes have long been focused on Mr Harry Oppenheimer.

Neither should it surprise anyone that Mr Oppenheimer has elected to say No. As a founder of the PFP he could hardly have been expected to take a decision which could have deeply embarrassed the party and its leadership.

But it should be noted that Mr Oppenheimer's opinion was expressed in a characteristically well-modulated tone and that he paid graceful tribute to Mr PW Botha's courage even as he said that the new constitution was a small step for the NP, but not a giant leap for South Africa.

And it should also be noted that many business leaders of equal integrity find it possible to differ with his position.

Which should show those who are filled with a sense of moral righteousness about their policy of rejection, just how hazy is the line between right and wrong in the decision which faces them on November 2.

REFERENDUM DEBATE OVERLOOKS ISSUE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 16 Oct 83 p 35

[Article by Brian Patterer: "Look What's Missing from the Great Referendum Race"]

[Text]

**T**HE future of local government is the National Party's wibbly-wobbly doll. The more it is pushed flat the more a natural balance of forces pulls it erect.

Logically it should be part of the package before the white electorate on November 2. The average South African, after all, should be as interested in who sits on his town council as who shares his parliamentary benches.

But second and third-tier government is off the Government's referendum agenda for two reasons. The first is that technical committees are investigating the "how" of a new dispensation. And the second is that it would be politically suicidal in the present swirl of events for the Government to broach the issue in anything but the broadest terms.

Neither reason succeeds in preventing the persistent intrusion of second and third-tier government issues into the referendum debate.

It is a tough balancing act for Pretoria. For the Government to endorse a phasing out of provincial authorities — as the pragmatists argue — would be the kiss of death to the flourishing NP-New Republic Party alliance. Worse still, it would put scores of loyal and ambitious NP MPCs on the fast train to rebellion.

Spelling out concisely how black local authorities will slot into the proposed metropolitan services boards would be handy ammunition for the beleaguered black local authority elections in November. But it would also be a weapon in the hands of a far right ever suspicious of any signs of the "hidden agenda" of black rights.

A clear exposition of the new financing proposals for local authorities would help offset charges that the proposed new black local authorities are economic disasters. But it would also certainly get up the backs of the bigger municipalities who are destined to help carry the burden.

**T**o indicate unambiguously the direction of Government policy about Indian and coloured municipal status — racially autonomous local authorities — would placate the jittery NP right wing, but could chill the Labour Party out of participation in the tricameral legislature.

And so the fiercest constitutional road show in the country's history rolls on with only half the cast at centre stage.

The rest — the thousands of town councillors, management, local affairs and consultative committee members, the municipal associations, MPCs, executive committees and even administrators — wait in the shadows for the cue that will either dismiss them to the dressing rooms, or bring them before the spotlights.

The President's Council proposals suggested as one option the phasing out of provincial level government, to be replaced by executive authorities. It also raised the possibility of the country's four provinces being reshaped into eight regions corresponding to the regional economic development areas.

It is no secret that in the corridors of power the neat simplicity of the plan has found favour, but political expediency has cautioned otherwise.

**T**he New Republic Party's sole power base is Natal. With the Natal Provincial Council gone, so also is the NRP.

Professor Lawrence Schlemmer of Natal University's Centre for Applied Social Sciences puts it in a nutshell: "Whatever damage the NRP might have done to itself by enlisting in a joint Yes campaign with the Government would be as nothing compared to the damage they would do if they endorsed the phasing out of provincial authorities."

In the new atmosphere forced by the Pretoria-Pietermaritzburg referendum axis, caution is the watchword.

But there is another problem even nearer to home for the National Party. For years the provincial councils have been the training grounds for aspirant NP parliamentarians

and — in some cases — retirement cloisters. Scrapping the system would put many ambitious and frustrated loyalists on the streets at a time of particular confusion in white politics.

All of which goes to explain in some way why the Government has gone to great lengths to assure that provincial authorities will not be scrapped in the short term and why the proposed new constitution does not even address the issue.

The crucial dilemma now facing the Government is how to lock urban black local authorities into the vaguely mooted consultative bodies which are to serve the third tier of Government.

The President's Council has proposed metropolitan hard-service boards which will have representatives from all local authorities and handle such issues as sewage disposal, water and electricity reticulation, ambulance and fire services.

Prime Minister P W Botha has referred to these structures only vaguely. Two months ago in the third reading debate on the constitution he said: "We shall acknowledge the need for liaison to take place between them and white town and city councils in regard to matters of common interest."

But already the warning lights are flashing in far right circles which see the development as the precursor of integrated councils and the dreaded "thin edge of the wedge".

The interests of the black local authority elections in November demand Government clarity on the issue. The pressures of white right wing referendum politics counsel silence. The Government — arguing the issue is the subject of Cabinet and technical committee inquiries — keeps its powder dry.

**A**n even heavier question mark now hangs over the exact intentions of Government in its third tier proposals. The only concrete suggestion on the table at present is the President's Council proposal parentage NRP, vintage 1978 — which proposes, where possible, racially autonomous local authorities, direct representation of coloured or Indian wards on the same council where this is not possible and, where the minority group is very small, integration at ward level but on separate voters' rolls.

From the turgid mass of the first two PC reports the local government recommendations shone like some beacon of hope presenting the first real suggestions of inter-racial political permeability. Government's broad acceptance of the principles brightened the beacon.

But since then, by a slow process of attrition, Government "acceptance" has been revealed most clearly for what it is; insistence on the inviolable principle of racially autonomous local authorities.

This direction was illustrated in the Prime Minister's address to the Transvaal Province Municipal Association congress this week. The prepared text refers broadly to the need for the decentralisation and division of power, re-allocation of resources and the creation of co-ordinating bodies.

But the delivered speech was peppered with references to developing minorities "in their own spheres", retention of the existing "own identity" of local authorities, individual and group rights protected through strong local authorities and development in accordance with the principle that South Africa is a land of minorities.

In other words, the whole pantheon of National Party jargon spelling basically the same message; strict segregation at local government level.

The point — not missed by conservative delegates who hear-heared him on several occasions — is unlikely to be missed by the coloured and Indian communities who through their representative bodies have made their voice known quite clearly on separate racial local authorities.

Six years ago Natal Indians and coloureds were telling the Slatter and Yeld committees of their opposition to separate racial local authorities. The President's Council heard it as well.

And both the Labour Party and the Association of Management Committees have rejected "dummy councils" and demanded direct representation on councils.

Indeed feelings on separate local authorities are so high that the Government's first tentative steps through the Promotion of Local Government Bill to co-ordinate local government affairs was nearly aborted earlier this year when ASSOMAC, the Labour Party and the NRP suspected the Government of trying to entrench the principle of racially autonomous local authorities into the wording of the Bill.

It is a delicate line the Government treads; on the one hand signalling the white right wing that segregated local authorities are assured while at the same time hinting to the Labour Party that all things are still possible at local authority level.

The dilemma is repeated in one of the most pressing

and increasingly politicised issues facing Government third tier proposals — finding the cash to underwrite dormitory town black local authorities and the plethora of coloured and Indian councils which will be a logical consequence of Government local authority thinking.

Proposals for a sloughing of wealth from the bigger and richer municipalities to the poorer ones are now on the table, under discussion with the municipal associations, to be considered by the Cabinet and likely to see legislative form next session.

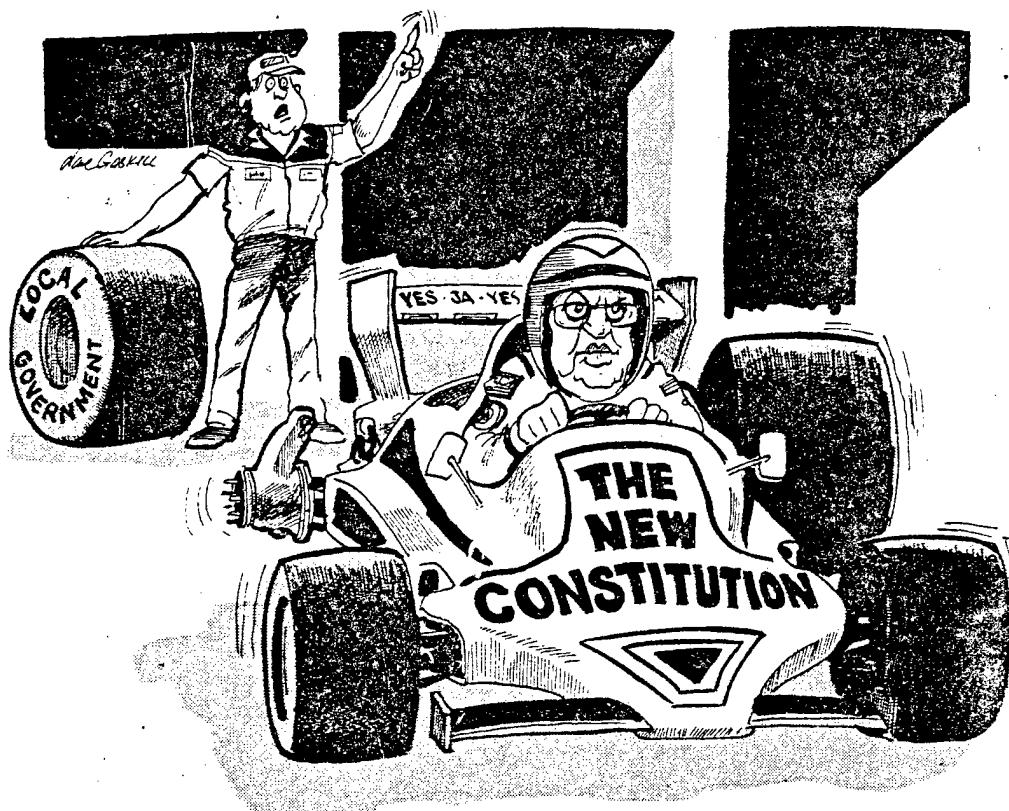
It is certain to spark another major political controversy. Big cities like Johannesburg have objected to the principle and the

right wing parties have revealed ample proof of their lack of sympathy for the development needs of other communities.

Again, the interests of particularly the black local authority elections beg for clarification on how the proposed new municipalities will survive economically. Party politicking again raises the prospects of heavy clashes. And again — arguing investigation by technical committee — the Government keeps its powder dry.

The referendum on November 2 is a fierce and sprawling debate about the way the country should be governed at central level. An equally fierce one — its dimensions already known, its dilemmas apparent, its major actors on stage — awaits post-referendum.

(Report by B C Pottinger, Van der Stel Building, Pretoria).



SOUTH AFRICA

REFORM NOT DEPENDENT ON NEW CONSTITUTION, SAYS SLABBERT

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 20 Oct 83 p 9

[Article by Chris Steyn]

[Text] South Africa does not need a new Constitution to bring about real reform.

This was one of the points made by the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, during a political debate held at the Press Club in Johannesburg yesterday.

The Conservative Party MP for Brakpan, Mr Frank le Roux, and the National Party MP for Randburg, Mr Wynand Malan were the other participants in the debate.

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert referred to the Government's decision to introduce drastic legislation to deal with Indians and Coloureds living illegally in White areas in Johannesburg as an example of "tightening" discriminatory laws--unaided by a constitutional guideline in this regard.

"Just as the Government does not need a Constitution to tighten up the Group Areas Act, it does not need a Constitution for reform. Reform can take place without a Constitution," he said.

#### Apartheid

However, the Government also did not need a Constitution to start the process of the real reform now. Unaided by a Constitution the Government could bring about some very important changes, like removing discriminatory laws which formed the real basis of apartheid.

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert warned that the new Constitution had the potential to increase racial friction to such an extent that cooperation between Indian, Coloured and White would be "irrelevant."

For the first time in history, racially discriminatory acts, like the Mixed Marriages Act, the Race Classification Act, and the Group Areas Act, could not be scrapped or even changed without the Constitution itself being changed.

"The proposed Constitution is less flexible and more rigid than the present Constitution," he said. "It is badly constructed and essentially unworkable."

Many South Africans who intended voting "Yes" because they hoped the Constitution could bring about some measure of reform, or because they believed there was some hidden agenda written into the Constitution, would find themselves utterly disillusioned a couple of years after the implementation of the proposals.

"This Constitution is no wonder-formula; problems will not be solved quickly and reform won't take place any sooner," Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said.

Mr Frank le Roux, however, expressed fear that the Mixed Marriages Act and the Group Areas Act would eventually be dissolved in the new President's Council which he referred to as the "final conflict resolving mechanism" in the new Constitution.

#### Conflicts

"This body will be called upon to resolve the conflicts which go to the root of politics in South Africa, matters in respect of which the various electorate have the deepest and strongest feelings, for example, the Group Areas Act, the inclusion of the urban-Blacks into the system, the Mixed Marriages Act.

"It is unreasonable to place such a burden on such an un-involved body and it is unpardonable to expect the electorate to acquiesce to this," he said.

He further argued the constitution should be rejected because vital provisions of the Act could not be amended without the consent of all three houses.

"A populations group is denied the right to opt out of the whole dispensation without the other groups consenting thereto. If this most serious experiment fails, like a boomerang it will continue flying back at you," Mr Le Roux said.

He said there was no logic in introducing Coloureds and Indians into the White political "stream" while withholding that right from urban Blacks.

"In fact, what the Act seeks to ensure fails to materialise. What happens is that the Whites are called upon to forsake their freedom while at the same time no meaningful freedom is gained by either the Coloureds or the Indians."

Mr Wynand Malan made it clear that a fourth Black chamber and a one-man one-vote majoritarian system were non-options in South Africa's political future.

However, he told the audience there would be "no end" to the process of constitutional reform "until such a time as a system or systems have been developed that will enable every individual to have an effective say in the decision-making that affects his or her life."

Mr Malan said he was not in favour of a fourth Black chamber but believed the accommodation of groups in the political process was a prerequisite for the building of true South Africanism.

When asked if Coloureds and Indians would be liable to do military service once the new constitution had been implemented, Mr Malan said he believed that legislation in this regard would be changed.

"I believed that Indians and Coloureds will become liable to do military service--but it would be bad policy and a bad approach to introduce legislation immediately. We must first prove to them that something has been done for them," he said.

News by Chris Steyn, 28 Height Street, Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

CSO: 3400/30

SOUTH AFRICA

POLICIES AND ATTITUDES OF UDF DISCUSSED

On UDF Policies

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 27 Sep 83 p 15

[Article by Leopold Scholtz: "UDF Will Ask for Boycott Later"]

[Text] It is "logical" for the UDF (United Democratic Front) to advise its colored and Indian supporters to boycott possible referendums on the new constitution rather than to vote no, said Mr Terror Lekota, press secretary of the UDF, yesterday during an interview with DIE BURGER.

He also indicated that the UDF is not at all inclined to conclude an alliance with the PFP (Progressive Federal Party).

Mr Lekota made it clear that the UDF is simply opposed to the whole constitutional reform process taking place today. "This was thought up unilaterally by the white parliament and does not involve the black people. It is nothing but a trick to give apartheid an acceptable appearance."

However, the UDF has not yet made a final decision on the matter. Therefore it is "logical" that it advise its supporters to boycott a referendum rather than to vote no, he said.

Mr Lekota also killed any idea of the PFP being acceptable as a member organization for the UDF. "We are a non-racial organization which wants a united South Africa. Unless the PFP abandons its ideal of a geographic federation, it will not be acceptable to us at all."

"The PFP will first have to endorse our policy before we can think about this again," he said.

"Moreover, its link with an ethnic body, such as Captain Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha, could create serious problems," thinks Mr Lekota.

## UDF Attitude Toward PFP

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 27 Sep 83 p 14

[Editorial: "PFP in Pincers"]

[Text] The attitude of the UDF (United Democratic Front), a newly established boycott movement with a primarily colored following, with regard to the PFP (Progressive Federal Party) provides a good indication of why the PFP has landed in such a serious dilemma in South African politics.

According to the press secretary of the UDF, this "non-racial" organization is skeptical about the PFP's link with an "ethnic body" such as Captain Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha. Furthermore, the UDF advocates a unitary state, and is thus opposed to the PFP policy of geographic federation. He is not at all inclined to admit the PFP as a member organization; the PFP will first have to accept the UDF policy before such a possibility can be "thought" about.

This opinion about the PFP by the UDF must have felt like a dash of cold water in the face by those progressives who cheered so much about the creation of this new movement.

However, this is only one side of the pincer situation the PFP finds itself in.

On the other side, it faces a growing defection of people who can simply no longer stand its boycott approach. They are apparently willing to disregard the party's instruction about the referendum and to vote "yes" on 2 November.

The pincer which presses on the PFP from both sides undoubtedly provides a logical explanation for the recent actions of the progressives.

On the one hand, the PFP must still desperately try to hang on to its white support; indeed, it is still active in white politics. This is why the PFP leader must plead in referendum advertisements that his future and that of the party are at stake. Hence, as far as the PFP is concerned the referendum does not involve plans for the future of South Africa, but it is a question of saving the party and its leader's hide.

On the other hand, the PFP is trying to drum up black support, which it apparently lost through the UDF, but which it wants to make use of in white politics anyhow. This is why the leader of the progressives went to KwaZulu to involve Inkatha and Captain Buthelezi in his campaign.

A party which in its despair acts with such opportunism deserves to be pulverized in South African politics.

8463  
CSO: 3401/6

#### EFFECT OF CONSTITUTION ON CIVIL SERVICE

Pretoria DIE TRANSVALER in Afrikaans 21 Sep 83 p 12

[Editorial: "Civil Servants and the Constitution"]

[Text] Constitutional reform cannot be achieved in practice unless it is backed by an effective public administration, said Mr Jimmy van der Merwe, chairman of the Committee for Administration, at this week's yearly meeting of the Organization of Civil Servants.

With this statement, Mr Van der Merwe hit the heart of one more of the many important aspects of the new national system being contemplated, specifically that one will have to strive for full cooperation with the civil service.

This basically involves two requirements:

- The first one is that in the changeover toward the new allocation the civil service be assured that its status, independence and effectiveness will not be hampered.
- Secondly, that the expected introduction of coloreds and Asians will be arranged in such a way that it will cause the fewest possible opportunities for friction.

This week, the president of the organization, Dr Colin Cameron, specifically asked for assurances in this regard, so that the civil service will not lose its attraction as an employer for the whites.

DIE TRANSVALER believes that it is the civil service's right to receive clarification on such major issues before they can support the new allocation with an open mind.

Therefore we should welcome the fact that the minister of internal affairs, Mr De Klerk, immediately provided assurances in this regard.

The intention to discuss the implications of the constitutional plan for the civil service with representatives of the civil service is also in good order. As a matter of fact, this could not have been delayed much longer.

It is logical that in the future, as far as the administration of one's affairs is concerned, one will increasingly have to use coloreds and Asians. White experience and skill will be necessary for the training of these people. This emphasizes all the more the need for the broadest cooperation between the state and the civil service.

SOUTH AFRICA

CHURCH VOICE IN POLITICS DISCUSSED AT HISTORICAL MEETING

Pretoria DIE AFRIKANER in Afrikaans 14 Sep 83 p 6

[Editorial: "Crisis in the Churches"]

[Text] The meeting of clergymen of the three African sister churches, where the proposed constitutional allocation was rejected outright, is of special historical significance. It demonstrated that there is a large group of conservative clergymen within the three churches who are ready to let their voice be heard clearly.

It is particularly gladdening that this group of clergymen is willing to express an opinion on a vital issue which touches both the state and the church, because in recent years we have become accustomed to leftwing elements setting the tone on topical matters. Let us admit it, the silence of many conservative clergymen has already led to considerable distress among thousands of ordinary members.

The laudable action by the 197 clergymen is a clear reflection of the serious division which currently prevails among the Afrikaner people. The three sister churches will not be able to escape this division because they are too closely intertwined with the life of our people. Therefore it can be expected that as the political struggle becomes more fierce this will also have an increasing effect within the Afrikaner churches.

What was particularly significant at the recent meeting, was the unanimity which prevailed there among the clergymen in spite of the fact that they belong to three different churches. The common striving for the maintenance of a white fatherland was clearly more significant than any mutual differences which may exist.

This phenomenon shows that in the troubled times ahead, a reorganization of the churches can definitely not be left out of account. As a matter of fact, does the real division in our church life not precisely run along a conservative/liberal line rather than any other? It is difficult to see how conservative and liberal clergymen in the three churches can be accommodated together in their different churches in the long run -- the differences are simply too great for that.

Those in leadership positions in all three churches will have to take note of the ferment and the agitation within the churches. As for others, the time for decisions has also arrived for the church, and clear leadership will be necessary on topical positions on topical matters. The Silverton meeting was a promising first step in that direction.

8463  
CSO: 3401/8

PM REVEALS SECRET MEETINGS WITH OTHER LEADERS

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 16 Oct 83 p 17

[Text]

THE Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, has had secret meetings in South Africa with various foreign heads of government.

He has also made secret visits to a number of foreign countries.

Mr Botha makes these startling disclosures in a lengthy exclusive interview in the latest issue of Leadership SA. But he does not reveal where he went or who he met.

Interviewed by the editor of the prestigious current affairs magazine, Mr Hugh Murray, the Prime Minister makes frequent hints of secret visits both here and abroad.

"In some instances our interests demand that I should not disclose the identities of the leaders with whom I have had discussions," he said.

"I have been to Taiwan and I have been to other countries which I won't even mention because I don't believe in publicising every step I take.

"If it is an embarrassment to those countries, I keep quiet, go there, do my job and come back.

### Protected

"I sometimes meet with heads of government over here in a quiet and secret way and we protect them.

"They know they can come here and have discussions. They have come here unannounced on occasions and we have met for hours. I think we produce the necessary results doing it that way".

The Prime Minister adds, however, that he is not interested in going to other countries simply for the sake of going there.

"I will visit any government if it is necessary, provided they don't do a Camp David on me.

"If I can go there as a free man, I am prepared to go."

Saying that leaders in the international community were free to visit South Africa and that he was prepared to travel abroad to meet them if it was in the interests of South Africa, the Prime Minister recalls an incident during the Carter Administration.

The former US president had invited Mr Botha to meet him, but not until South Africa had indicated its readiness to comply with UN resolution 435 on Namibia.

### Unacceptable

"At the time conditions were added to Resolution 435 which we simply could not accept.

"I was therefore invited to a meeting as long as I accepted conditions which we considered unacceptable."

The Prime Minister also concedes that South Africa had been "on a collision course" with the United States during the Carter Administration.

"They were threatening us, and South Africans are not inclined to be threatened."

"That would have led to calamity in our relationship."

Mr Botha admits however that "under President Reagan things are different", and says that although neither country is entirely satisfied with the other, "the basic approaches are correct".

The Prime Minister also reveals that:

- He was looking for a formula to accommodate urban blacks in the confederal system.

- The Nationalist Government had "made a mistake" when it came to power in 1948 by concentrating on the negative aspects of apartheid and not concentrating enough on development schemes.

"If we had started on a large scale at that stage as we should have done — on development schemes, housing, social upliftment, trade and land development — then we would have had a different picture. I think we made a mistake in the process."

- There is a strong feeling that the name of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Information should be changed, and that there are "different views" on whether

the amalgamation of the two departments had been a success.

- South Africa wanted defence agreements and non-aggression pacts with all its neighbours.

- Under the new constitution the President may make greater use of private sector expertise in public sector appointments.

Mr Botha also reiterated that the constitution was not "final".

"In a virile country surely no constitution can be final. We will always have to be developing."

And he emphasises the need for a broad South Africanism.

"The idea of Afrikaner unity at the expense of a united South Africa is out.

"The idea of an Afrikaner people as a cultural entity and religious group with a special language will be retained in South Africa as long as civilisation stands. But politically a new orientation is taking place.

"Being a good and proud Afrikaner is not incompatible with South Africanism.

"Our present differences with certain radical rightist organisations can, among other things, be attributed to the fact that these bodies present a wrong image of the Afrikaner."

CSO: 3400/30

NAT VICTORY IN MIDDELBURG PREDICTED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 20 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Jaap Theron]

[Text]

THE THREE parties in the Middelburg provincial by-election — which takes place on Referendum Day, November 2 — namely the NP, the CP and the HNP, agree that the NP is likely to retain the seat mainly because the CP and HNP will divide the opposition votes.

But the two Right-wing parties appear to stand a good chance of getting more votes between them than the NP.

**Barometer**

All eyes in South Africa will be on this by-election, as it will be the only place where the votes will be counted on a constituency basis on Referendum Day and the only constituency to give an indication as to how the electorate feel about the new Constitution.

The referendum votes as such will be counted in 15 main centres countrywide and it will not be possible to evaluate which parties win in specific constituencies.

Spokesmen for all three provincial candidates in Middelburg

yesterday told The Citizen that provincial matters did not figure at all in the by-election and that their campaigns were linked with the referendum campaigns and that only the new Constitution was at stake.

Middelburg, which had 14 537 voters in the 1981 general election now has 22 365 voters for the provincial by-election. It will be the first time the new voters' roll, which has been compiled from the population register, will be used in Middelburg.

**Untraced**

All people who have received their identity books and are recorded as Middelburg residents are on the roll.

All three parties agree that about 5 000 or as much as 25 percent of the voters cannot be traced because they have moved out of the constituency.

The general estimate is that about 65 percent of the 22 365 voters will cast their ballots in both the provincial by-election and in the referendum in Middelburg.

There will be two separate polling booths at every polling station on election day — one for the by-election and one for the referendum voters.

**Good chance**

It is thus estimated that about 14 537 voters will vote in the by-election — about equal to the total number of voters registered in the last general elections.

Mr Nico Lichthelm, Nat MP for Middleburg, said yesterday the NP's chances of retaining the seat were good. In 1981 the NP's provincial majority was just over 1 000.

Mr Louis Stofberg, general secretary of the HNP, who was the HNP parliamentary candidate in 1981 in Middleburg, is now the HNP's provincial candidate.

Mr Lichthelm said the referendum theme totally dominated the provincial by-election, so much so that both campaigns were being handled as a single one for the new Constitution.

He expected a reasonably high poll even though more than 5 000 voters could not be traced.

### **Indiction**

He said this by-election could have been unimportant against the background of the referendum, but great interest was now being shown because it would give a definite indication as to how the voters of Middelburg felt about the new Constitution.

Mr Lichthelm said the NP's canvassing showed that about 60 percent of Middelburg's voters would vote "Yes" in the referendum.

He expected more or less the same number of voters would also support the NP in the by-election.

### **Outsider**

He said there was a very low "lie-factor" in both the provincial and referendum canvassing campaign in Middelburg. "People tell you where they will vote in either case," he said.

Mr A C Van Wyk, general secretary of the CP, who is in charge of the CP's campaign in Middelburg, yesterday admitted the NP stood a good chance of retaining the provincial seat. But simply because the conservative votes were split between the HNP and the CP.

He said the CP nevertheless stood an outside chance of winning the by-election.

Mr Van Wyk said an interesting fact to emerge from their canvassing was that "about 65 percent of new voters

added to the 1981 voters' roll promised their support to the CP in both the provincial and referendum elections".

He said the CP's chances of a win in the by-election depended on whether a reasonably high number of voters turn up on polling day.

### **Doubtful**

Only about 13 percent of all voters canvassed could be listed as so-called "doubtful votes".

He said it was quite difficult to win the support of hardliner HNP and NP supporters. This will be the first CP participation in an election in Middelburg, while the HNP candidate, Mr Stofberg, will stand for the fifth consecutive time in the constituency.

Mr Van Wyk confirmed that the CP was not fighting two battles, but only one, namely on the main referendum theme.

He said, even if the CP did not win, a combined majority of conservative votes in the by-election — against the background of it being fought on the new constitution — would be as important to all conservatives in South Africa as a win in the by-election.

Mr Kobus Louw of the HNP said the NP should win. He said the HNP would definitely have won this seat from the NP if the CP had not participated.

### **Postal votes**

He predicted a neck-and-neck result with the NP the winner.

He said the provincial aspects did not play any part in their campaigning and that only the new constitution figured.

Mr Louw said the HNP at present led the field regarding postal and special votes in the by-election. Until yesterday the HNP applied for 330 postal votes, the NP for 32 and the CP for three.

Mr Louw said voters who were no longer living in Middelburg were a problem in the by-election.

A random test at the addresses of 100 voters "showed that 92 of them cannot be traced inside the Middelburg constituency," he said.

He predicted that the percentage poll in the by-election would not exceed 40 percent.

According to both the CP and HNP spokesmen, an interesting aspect of the by-election/referendum campaign was that a large number of Nat supporters, who said they would support the Nat provincial candidate, have also said they would vote "No". This claim was, however, discounted by NP observers.

The Nat provincial candidate is Mr Dries Terblanche, the CP's man is Mr Piet Bezuidenhout, while Mr Stofberg represents the HNP.

News by J Theron, 161 Mitchell St, Pretoria.

PROFESSOR LOMBAARD ADDRESSES ASSOCOM CONGRESS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 20 Oct 83 p 4

[Article by Fred deLange]

[Text]

THE well-known economist and parliamentary adviser, Professor Jan Lombaard of the University of Pretoria, yesterday made it plain he did not see the new constitution as an answer to the economic and political problems of South Africa.

Speaking at the annual congress of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of South Africa (Assocom), Prof Lombaard said South Africa would inevitably regain its legitimacy, but only as a federation of regional states.

He said South Africa would have to find a democratic process within which Blacks, who will make up most of the population of the country in the 21st century, could participate in the resolution of future problems of Government.

"This process may be found in the philosophy of political co-operation under federalism rather than the philosophy of political integration in a unitary state," Prof Lombaard said.

Prof Lombaard stressed the only question was whether the road to legitimacy could be one of peaceful reform, or whether the process had to be one of violent conflicts.

"I would say the choice is still ours to make," he said.

Saying that he did not want to take a public stand on the referendum, Prof Lombaard said a constitution was not an expression of political power but rather a restraint upon the exercise of such power.

He said a well-known English philosopher of the seventeenth century had said the best way of restraining political infringements upon basic human rights was when the powers of government were restrained in such a way that the legislative and executive powers of government could never fall into the same hands.

He said federalism was the decentralisation of power in the first place, with decentralised administration as a secondary consideration.

"But among the greatest of all the federal ideas are the principles that govern the process of developing co-operation between the constituent states of a federation. This is the one area of political economy where South Africans can become world leaders," Prof Lombaard said.

He said if a federation was to be implemented the present sovereign powers of the South African Parliament would have to remain intact until the federalist procedures had covered the main areas of co-operation.

"If providence has, accordingly, given us a rather complicated political responsibility, it has certainly also provided us with economic potential to discharge that responsibility in a manner that could place South Africa back amongst its traditional peers in the system of international relationships," Prof Lombaard concluded.

News by F de Lange, 161 Mitchell St, Pretoria.

CSO: 3400/30

SOUTH AFRICA

NATAL NEGLECTED: PFP, NRP AGREE

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 17 Oct 83 p 5

[Article by B. Cameron]

[Text]

DURBAN — Accusations made by the chairman of the giant Tongaat Hulett group, Mr Chris Saunders, that Natal has been neglected by the Government for political reasons, have been supported by the Progressive Federal and New Republic parties.

The National Party did not want to comment on the accusations but claimed, "If Natal has been neglected it is not for political reasons."

The NRP, while supporting the accusations that Natal was neglected, did not agree that the reasons were political.

Mr Dering Stainbank, the acting senior MEC, said the pressures applied on the authorities by Natal may not have been as great as those applied by other areas.

Mr Saunders said at a conference in Durban earlier this week that Government planning of Natal's two greatest assets, water and people, had been very poor, largely politically moti-

vated and could lead to chaos in the region.

Mr Peter Gastrow, MP and deputy chairman of the PFP, said the history of Government development of Natal supported Mr Saunders' arguments.

"The current water crisis can be partly blamed on the Government. The appalling mess at Louis Botha Airport, the lack of development of La Mercy, the state of Natal roads and delays in opening the Field's Hill bypass, and the total non-development of the Tugela Basin for use by Natal and kwaZulu, are just some of the examples."

Mr Gastrow warned that all the back-slapping and wooing of English voters would disappear after the referendum on November 2. The Government would continue to show the same attitude it had for so many years.

"The Government seems to think Natal consists of tame English, whose complacency they can exploit at their whim."

(Report by B Cameron, 85 Field Street, Durban.)

CSO: 3400/30

'YES' VOTE COMES AS DIFFICULT DECISION, SAYS LAWYER

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 16 Oct 83 p 35

[Article by Johan Van Der Vyver: "Yes to Change No to Cowardice"]

[Text]

**Y**ES, I am going to vote Yes; and yes, it does make me feel terribly schizophrenic.

Because, I cannot possibly endorse the new constitution, but I also cannot withhold my support for the broadening — however minute — of the base of representative government; and, to be absolutely frank, I simply cannot bring myself to side with the right wing defeatists whose No vote is clearly inspired by profound racism.

I could never understand the subtlety of a Frenchman's logic when he said: "I voted for De Gaulle but I did not support him." I think I now begin to grasp the true meaning of his words.

Fortunately, the question to be answered in the referendum does not require one to endorse the constitution; it leaves one with the choice of opting for its implementation.

One's option, as I see it, is therefore not focused upon one's approval or disapproval of the proposed con-

stitution, but should in the final analysis be influenced by the vexing question whether or not the new dispensation would, in relation to the status quo, constitute an improvement.

It is important to note that one's choice is not between the new constitution and what could or should have been, but between the proposed dispensation and the status quo.

Looking at the new constitution more closely, one must at once concede that its patent defects are manifold and of a radical nature.

In this regard I particularly found four basic arguments of left wing protagonists of a No vote, if not entirely convincing, then at least above the standard of point scoring on the level of a high school debate.

Those arguments deserve careful and serious consideration.

The first such argument concerns the unfortunate exclusion of blacks from the new constitutional dispensation, their understandable frustration and anger, and the to-be-expected escalation of racial tension in South Africa.

**T**he fact is, though, that the proposed constitution does not, one way or the other, affect the status of blacks. It needs little imagination to realise that, unless those in authority enter into negotiations and come to terms with the blacks, race relations will rapidly deteriorate, but the present constitution is as much a cause of racial tension as would be the proposed dispensation.

The new constitution is consequently not a sine qua non of the current conflict potential in South Africa though, admittedly, it might provide additional justification for the prevailing and progressive racial animosity.

The second credible argument in favour of a No vote concerns the entrenchment of apartheid in the new constitution.

It is indeed regrettable that an undertaking "to respect, to further and to protect the self-determination of population groups and peoples" has been included in the statement of intent contained in the preamble of the constitution; and by virtue of section 99(3) the system, including its ethnic foundation, has clearly been entrenched in the sense that the repeal or

amendment of the structure of representation shall require a majority of the total number of its members in every house of the legislature.

But do these provisions, in relation to the status quo, really make any difference? The statement of intent is not binding, and whereas the power of abolishing racial discrimination is presently entirely in the hands of an all-white parliament, the balance of power will under the proposed constitution still vest in the white chamber of the legislature.

I simply cannot conceive the coloured and Indian Houses obstructing reform of racial legislation, and in the final analysis any move towards normalising race relations will still substantially depend on white support.

There is also no denying that the new constitution will create an executive dictatorship.

**T**his truism appears not so much from the executive powers of the Government — in this respect National Party spokesmen might be quite correct in maintaining that in the new dispensation the powers of the State President will not exceed those of the Prime Minister under the present regime — as from the statutory competence of the executive to manipulate the power of legislation.

This it could do, for instance, by deciding what matters are to be dealt with as "own affairs" or as "general affairs" (sec 16); and in the case of "general affairs" by constituting the President's Council, packed with State President appointees, as the substitute legislature with the power of finally resolving legislation on which the different houses could not come to an agreement (sec 32).

Dictatorial powers of the executive are also evi-

denced by the exclusion or restriction of judicial control in relation to executive acts (sec 18(2)).

It should be noted that whereas under the Westminster system of government the power of courts of law to question the legality of parliamentary legislation has always been subject to drastic restrictions, Westminster is particularly opposed to curtailment of the courts' jurisdiction to test executive acts.

Here, again, analysis will show that under the present South African caricature of Westminster the basic norm of that system was never upheld.

Over the years the sovereignty of Parliament — perhaps the most fundamental cornerstone of the Westminster system of government — has been converted into excessive and even arbitrary executive powers, and the practice of setting the executive above the law has also become a regular feature of South African security legislation.

What we're in for is therefore simply what we've already got. But the new constitution does entail a move towards representative government, which in my opinion is the one overriding positive ingredient of the proposed system.

Finally, I wish to respond to the argument that a majority No vote would compel the Government to return to the drawing board and come up with something better.

It is reasonable to assume that if the Government were compelled to reconsider the issues it would compromise to the right and not to the left.

Two considerations are of special significance in this regard: first, the fact that right wing support for a No vote constitutes a clear majority in the ranks of the opposing side; and, second, the fact that re-

uniting of the Afrikaner laager remains high on the list of priorities of the present regime.

An alternative constitutional proposal of those in authority can therefore only be worse than the one presently in issue.

And let it not be forgotten that right wing opposition to the present constitutional proposal is largely based on racial intolerance, coupled with the notion of ethnic superiority and a fanatic sense of religious self-righteousness.

Not insignificant in numbers and in influence amongst the rank and file of right wing obstructionists are the "hensoppers": those who argue that the days of the white man in Africa are numbered, and so let's hang on to what we've got as long as we can.

Those who have given up all hope of peaceful change and of survival are the suicidal fatalists who, through their No vote, also signify a readiness to pronounce the death sentence of their children.

I would not want to be seen to associate myself with such cowardice.

**W**hites in South Africa must realise that one cannot simply wish away, or disregard the political aspirations of, the black majority in this country; and if whites are, politically speaking, to maintain a place in the South African sun, a system of power-sharing seems to be the only alternative.

I, for one, shall support every step towards that end. The significance, in the context of power-sharing, of taking the first step towards ending exclusive white control of the political instruments of government, must not be underestimated.

And so I shall note Yes, but I will continue to voice my strong opposition to the constitution.

DISRUPTIONS TO NATION'S ECONOMY PREDICTED

Johannesburg INDUSTRIAL WEEK in English 11 Oct 83 p 1

[Article by Lynn Carlisle]

[Text]

**DISRUPTIONS to the South African economy are predicted after the Referendum — no matter what the outcome.**

In a whistle-stop opinion survey of business and political leaders, *Industrial Week* found conflicting and perturbing views on how a Yes or No vote would affect the workforce and outside investments.

Against a backdrop of impending Black worker backlash to be expected from a Yes vote come warnings, equally serious, that a No vote would stifle overseas investment in the country and encourage boycotts against the SA economy.

Chief Minister Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu has indicated that a Yes vote will batter all the hope that his Inkatha Movement and massive Zulu worker following have for partnership with Whites. "Blacks together will destroy the new Constitution — around your factories and your homes."

He says that this is because it entrenches racism, fires anger and above all can turn ordinary people seriously to contemplate the value of killing for political purposes.

"I believe it would be irresponsible of businessmen, who do not bother too much about politics, to vote Yes as it will be seen as cutting Blacks out of planning their future along with the other South Africans," Chief Buthelezi tells *Industrial Week*.

He remains strongly in favour of investment in SA but Inkatha operated on democratic lines and if it wanted disinvestment because of exclusion of Blacks from the new Constitution then he would have to go along with them.

As Gencor's chairman Ted Pavitt (he is also president of the SA Foundation) was not prepared to comment on Chief Buthelezi's stand, he stated he intended meeting with him this week or next.

"I have just returned from overseas where I learnt that if it is a No vote, people in the US will

see this as a clear sign that South Africa is not prepared to move forward on the road to reform.

"This indicates that there will a US backlash and trade boycotts against SA can then be expected," says Pavitt.

Vause Raw, Leader of the NRP, met two US State senators and a congressman last week. "They told me a No vote would be absolutely fatal for South Africa's friends."

A Yes vote is a step in a new direction which is vital and will lead to an improvement in relationships among the race groups here and with our friends abroad, he says.

"As a result of Chief Buthelezi's latest statement, where he says a Yes vote could lead to killings, I have appealed to him not to alienate people who are unsympathetic to his aspirations," Raw adds.

Andrew Savage, the PFP's spokesman on commerce and industry, says Raw is "talking rubbish" when he warns that a No vote will seriously affect overseas confidence in the South African economy.

"Within two weeks after a Yes Referendum vote, if there is one, the Blacks will become bitter and hostile, while the Coloureds will realise that they are still to be discriminated against," says Savage.

These feelings, he says, will produce an unstable political, social and economic situation in SA which will be bad for overseas investors.

Savage uses SA's sports policy as an analogy of what will take place if it is Yes. He says the inclusion of the "odd Black" in any system is "a pathetic" effort towards the removal of discrimination and seeking recognition.

"They won't be fooled by the new Constitution for one minute. It will inevitably lead to violent reaction here. We are at a turning point where the English-speaking South Africans, who are known to complain against violence, must realise that if they turn the vote to Yes then they will be party to the cause of Blacks violently rejecting the new Constitution.

Dr Albert Wessels, chairman of Wesco, says a No vote will be bad for business and could lead to a change in Government and a slowing down of the development process. A Yes vote would encourage the Government to proceed with its policy of reform.

Just back from two weeks in Germany, Achim Stracke, executive director of the SA-German Chamber of Trade and Industry, says that, based on his limited information from normal business circles in Germany, he did not think the Referendum outcome would prove "crucial" over there.

"They are too busy looking after their own problems over there right now," says Stracke.

Assocom's Ray Parsons, JCI's Gordon Waddell, Rembrandt's Dr Anton Rupert, Seifsa's Sam van Colle and Dr Ben Vosloo of the Small Business Development Corporation were not prepared to comment in the Referendum/business issue.

• Report by L Canisie, Thomson House, Hendrik Verwoerd Drive, Randburg.

CSO: 3400/30

ECONOMISTS FORESEE PROMISING FINANCIAL PROSPECTS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 20 Oct 83 p 4

[Article by Fred de Lange]

[Text]

**ECONOMISTS at the annual congress of Assocom all agreed that hard times in South Africa were nearing an end and that financial prospects for next year were promising.**

Addressing the congress, the managing director of the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa, Mr Marius de Waal, said the South African economy would start with a gradual improvement in 1984 and then gather momentum in 1985.

"Next year is going to be one of change, a change for the better, so we will see political and social reform following the same pattern," Mr De Waal said.

He said the South African economy had been in a downward phase of the business cycle for the past two years, brought about by the international recess-

sion, but that the international economy was already picking up.

Mr De Waal also expressed his and commerce and industry's concern about inflation.

He said the moderation of inflation in the industrial countries of the Western world and the appreciation of the rand from the middle of 1983 caused the rate of increase in import prices to slow down considerably.

"This, together with domestic factors such as a slowdown in salaries and wages and unit labour costs, has resulted in the 12-month average of the inflation rate declining from 14 percent at the end of 1981 to a 12 percent average at present," he said.

He said there were a few major factors which prevented the inflation rate from reducing more meaningfully.

The first was the big increase in the money supply due to large increases

in bank credit especially to the private sector, but to some extent also to the Government sector.

The second reason was the after-effects of the large depreciation of the effective exchange rates of the rand from the first quarter of 1981 to the second half of 1982.

#### **Electricity**

Large wage and salary increases given in 1982 were not commensurated with productivity and recessionary conditions and substantial increases in a range of Government administered prices such as electricity tariffs as well as housing, transport and other costs of consumer services.

The Deputy Governor of the South African Reserve Bank, Dr Chris Stals, quoted the president of the World Bank, Mr A W Clausen, as saying there were welcome signs that the shadows were beginning to recede.

With recovery under

way here and in North America and in several countries of Western Europe, there were indications that the worst global recession since the depression of the 1930s might be approaching its end.

He said it was unavoidable that the domestic economy of a primary producing and exporting country such as South Africa would be affected by the economic developments in the major industrial countries of the world. "Traditional monetary and fiscal restraints can initiate and assist the adjustment process, and produce a new situation of equilibrium."

Mr Stals stressed that such measures would not be without cost to the economy but that adjustments in these circumstances could only be made through sacrifice.

He said South Africa could not borrow itself out of a recession.

FINANCE MINISTER SAYS PERSONAL SAVINGS RATE UNSATISFACTORY

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 20 Oct 83 p 12

[Article by Keith Abendroth]

[Text]

THE Minister of Finance, Mr Owen Horwood, said yesterday that South Africans were not saving enough.

And, he said, he regretted to say that the country's personal savings rate "leaves a good deal to be desired."

However, such as it was, it was made up mainly of "contractual" savings, a field in which the insurance industry excelled.

Addressing the 75th anniversary celebrations in Johannesburg of the General Accident Insurance Company, Mr Horwood announced that planned amendments to the Insurance Act would no longer come before the next session of parliament.

The amendments are intended to give a wider distribution of shareholding and increased shareholding by South African investors in the insurance field.

Mr Horwood said insurers had before them details of the planned

amendments, but it had been decided to postpone parliamentary consideration of the legislation for a time to allow more time to consider the amendments and to receive proposals.

The proposals appeared to have been construed by some insurers as an indication of diminished importance to be attached to foreign insurers.

But this was not the case. Foreign insurers were still appreciated.

Statistics indicated that South Africa was still a net importer of short term insurance cover. This was largely due to historical links and to "jumbo" risks which, in any case, could not be retained entirely by the local market.

But the country still exported an average of about 25 percent of all locally-generated short term premiums — in the case of fire as much as 50 percent — and these could be reduced if local capacity was more fully used.

HENDRICKSE DENIES LABOUR RANKS SPLIT THREAT

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 21 Oct 83 p 3

[Article by Chris Steyn]

[Text]

**THREATS of a split in the Labour Party, should it not pull out of the new constitutional system, were yesterday vehemently denied by its leader, the Rev Alan Hendrickse.**

However, the Labour Party was still reconsidering its support of the new constitutional proposals, after the Minister of Community Development, Mr Pen Kotze's announcement this week of the Government's intention to introduce drastic legislation to deal with Coloureds and Indians living in White areas.

Speaking from Cape Town, yesterday, Mr Hendrickse said he was in the process of negotiating a meeting with the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha.

The Labour Party would make a final decision regarding its participation in the new constitutional system, once talks with Mr Botha had been completed.

Meanwhile, an English daily newspaper reported yesterday that the Labour Party was told by its Natal leadership to pull out of the new constitutional system, or face a split.

The newspaper reported that the threat of a split developing in the Labour Party came from its Natal leader, Mr Albie Stowman.

However, Mr Stowman pledged his full support for the Labour Party and its leader, Mr Hendrickse, in a telephone conversation that took place between them on Wednesday night.

This telephone conversation was yesterday confirmed by Mr Hendrickse.

He said the purpose of Mr Stowman's statement to the daily newspaper was to declare his support of the Labour Party and to express dissatisfaction with Mr Kotzé's announcement. "But words were obviously put into his mouth," he said.

Mr Stowman was reported to have said that he had changed his mind over his qualified support of the proposals, and that there had existed serious divisions of opinion in the party on whether or not to participate in the new dispensation from the start.

Shortly after Mr Kotzé's announcement earlier this week, Mr Hendrickse told The Citizen that the Government would have to bear the responsibility for "destroying that which some of us, despite criticisms and condemnations, are trying to establish".

"If this attitude, towards Coloured people, as expressed by Mr Kotzé, is representative of the Government's attitude to change, the Labour Party will have to review its position regarding participation in the new constitution," he said.

News by Chris Steyn, 28 Height Street, Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

CSO: 3400/30

TAIWANESE-BLACK BUSINESS TIES UNDERTAKEN

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 16 Oct 83 p 10

[Article by Julian Kraft]

[Text]

STANDARD Bank's small-business unit has taken the first steps to establish joint ventures with Taiwanese manufacturers and black entrepreneurs in South Africa.

The initiative has the two-fold purpose of providing South African blacks with the opportunity of setting up viable and competitive small manufacturing ventures — and of bringing down the prices of imported merchandise to reasonable levels to the benefit of local consumers.

"It is no secret that many Far East manufacturers regard South Africa as a sitting duck for their products, regardless of quality, as the quality vetting for imports in South Africa is poor," says Brian Tresidder, the bank's

senior manager, retail market, responsible for the bank's small-business development unit.

Consequently, many imported consumer goods from such countries were highly inflationary, with only the middleman gaining the benefit while the South African consumer had to bear the cost.

Mr Tresidder, who visited several Far East countries recently when he attended an international small-business congress in Singapore, has written to the head of the medium and small business administration body in Taiwan proposing that joint ventures be undertaken which would reduce costs of goods imported to South Africa to more acceptable levels.

In terms of the proposal, local small manufacturers, chiefly black, could undertake the final manufacture and assembly operations of goods.

"This could apply to a radio, for example, where the high-technology manufacturing would be done in Taiwan and the local entrepreneur could look after the manufacture of the casings and final wiring and assembly.

"This would achieve some import replacement and bring down the final cost of the product to the consumer, as the import duties applying to components are much lower than those for finished products," Mr Tresidder said.

From a low technology base the manufacturer could then progress to higher levels as the expertise in the factory improved.

CSO: 3400/30

MORE SATS STAFF CUTS PLANNED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 14 Oct 83 p 10M

[Text]

DURBAN — The South African Transport Services has reduced staff by 35 000 in 16 months, the Minister of Transport, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, said today when he officially opened the new Durban railway station.

He said staff had dropped from 279 000 in June 1982 to 244 000 in September this year.

He warned "the total staff establishment will be reduced even further, although traffic is already above the very low levels of late last year."

The aim was a smaller, better selected and better trained, but also better paid, work force.

SATS 10 years ago had more than half the land transport market, now only 33 percent.

Of the passenger services, Mr Schoeman said SATS expected a R750 million loss for the 1983/84 financial year. Without steps to cut back, this could soar to R2 000 million by 1999..

To regain a larger share in transport, SATS had adopted a "more client-oriented marketing approach". This also applied to the passenger services.

SATS general manager Dr E L (Bart) Grove has told Assocom that for SATS to get back into the black, productivity and market share must be raised and uneconomic services eliminated.

Standards could be lowered and maintenance costs cut (using more sophisticated methods) without sacrificing safety.

Operating costs could also be trimmed. Research had brought big savings on the Saldanha Bay line and the lessons learnt there were being applied to the Richards Bay coal line.

Winning back market share for SATS was imperative, Dr Grove said. He was not unhappy about legal competition, but concerned about illegal carriers. He intended pressing the Department of Transport to ensure the law was adhered to.

At present about 25 percent of commercial traffic between Johannesburg and Durban was being carried illegally.

On the need to eliminate uneconomic business, Dr Grove said the railways were losing R750 million a year on uneconomic services, to which the Government was contributing only R450 million.

The railways should be compensated fully for services which were uneconomic but which had to be supplied. This applied to township services and certain long-distance routes.

Uneconomic lines would have to be closed down and alternative road services provided. These would be more efficient.

CSO: 3400/30

INCREASED BANNING OF RALLIES, MEETINGS HIT

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 21 Oct 83 p 6

[Editorial: "Illogical Affront"]

[Text]

THE EVIDENT increase in the number of meetings, rallies and services that are being banned these few weeks, is causing concern and even anger amongst blacks and their leaders.

The anger is caused by the fact that a ban on services to commemorate the death of a leader like Steve Biko seems like a deliberate affront to black sensibilities. There are people who wish to remember these occasions, not only for political reasons, but because it is in keeping with their traditional beliefs.

The fact that many others need such services to reaffirm their commitment to views deeply held also caused great disquiet. Indeed there seems a definite pattern to put a stop to all black political meetings in the townships, something that has to be viewed rather carefully for those responsible.

What immediately springs to mind is if this kind of act continues people are likely to sublimate their pent-up emotions and we can only hazard the kind of channel through which they might eventually burst. It is important to note that most people hold views that have touched them deeply in their lives and the

democratic process — which has proven its success in western countries — allows for these feelings to be vented.

The alternative is often most grave. Even the most moderate of people are likely to be swept along by the radicals who would just be waiting for this kind of situation to reach combustible level.

Already there are people who are looking at taking the Government to court for the bannings. Their approach is that even if this fails, which is all too likely, they will at least be showing the world that all avenues to express their peoplehood are being pursued.

This country cannot afford a situation that might arise when people decide these meetings in ways that are not legal. Surely the sensible thing is to have them vent their emotions openly — the police are always there to keep an eye on law and order — so that the Government itself can monitor grievances and even gauge the mood of the people. It really seems immature to exercise this kind of autocratic act at a time when the world has its eyes on us.

This kind of rule by decree is the very antithesis of freedom of speech

and association. And for it to come at the time when the Government is telling the world it is following a progressive trend towards reform is perhaps the height of illogicality.

Silencing people in this manner is not only undemocratic but is in the final analysis counter-productive. We cannot remember any meetings that have caused so many problems that they have disrupted law and order. What frequently happens is that the presence of the police inflames otherwise peaceful services and the blame is then ironically put on agitators and even more dangerously on the Press. The Press is also the conduit through which various civil liberties are expressed.

CSO: 3400/30

SOUTH AFRICA

GOVERNMENT OUT OF TOUCH WITH AFRIKANERS

Pretoria DIE AFRIKANER in Afrikaans 21 Sep 83 p 6

[Editorial: "Lost Identity"]

[Text] In a point of discussion, which was raised at the congress of the National Party [NP] of Transvaal, the NP was asked once again to try harder to understand the Afrikaners, and it was requested that it should not be a rich man's party. A delegate also complained that the Afrikaner voters have problems identifying with the NP.

With these positions, they of course hit the nail on the head, and the delegates involved gave evidence that they too are beginning to understand what has been obvious to other Afrikaners for years. That is the fact that in allying itself with its former enemies, the NP has become estranged from itself and from many thousands of its supporters.

Even though this was a lengthy process which started small, over the years the party has directed its friendship increasingly toward those who were traditional enemies of the Afrikaners, while it began to be more and more hostile toward the real core of Afrikaner nationalism.

This process has experienced a new momentum in recent months with the developments surrounding the new constitutional allocation. Even though the NP has long been in the process of shifting its power base to big money interests, this is being visibly demonstrated especially now.

In recent weeks, the general public has had to watch one institution and person after another in the world of finance take a position in favor of the planned allocation. Among these were several English speaking newspapers and business publications and other sworn enemies of Afrikaner nationalism. We were even treated to the spectacle of a former leader of the defunct United Party and lifelong opponent of separate development, promising his support for the new constitution.

Throughout their history, the Afrikaner nationalist could recognize his enemies as those with close ties first to British and later to American monetary interests. Those are the powers which have always sought their downfall through submission to British imperialism and next to black numerical supremacy.

The NP is proceeding toward the referendum in alliance with a motley collection of bodies and individuals who betray its very nature. A political movement which finds its friends among the traditional enemies of its people has no further right to exist. Afrikaners cannot identify with the NP, because the party has lost its identity.

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CSO: 3401/8

SOUTH AFRICA

GOVERNMENT POLICY TOWARD UNIVERSITIES DISCUSSED

Pretoria DIE PATRIOT in Afrikaans 9 Sep 83 p 10

[Article: "Open Universities: the Government Yields"]

[Text] For the umpteenth time the government has yielded to the PFP [Progressive Federal Party] and has "normalized." This time it was the opening up of the universities.

After a bill was passed, in spite of heavy costs and strong opposition, Minister Viljoen blithely announced that the time and money had been wasted: the law will not be implemented; for all practical purposes the universities will become open (integrated) institutions.

The minister took great trouble to argue that, due to practical barriers, the number of black students will not be able to increase much in the foreseeable future. The long term shift to black apparently does not bother him. And if the government is not disturbed in terms of the universities, what is there left that does disturb it? Does it not feel morally obligated to say openly that its policy is one of black supremacy in the long term?

The government's position has solved a moral crisis for the universities: now they do not have to refuse people admission on the basis of race. However, this does not mean the end of their troubles.

The Student Council at the RAU [Rand African University] was quick to add that non-white students who are admitted will have to have all the rights and privileges of white students. This affects the implementation of the Group Areas Act. And how will the university president, Dr Dawie de Villiers, manage to reconcile his conscience and his anxiety about the prohibition of love across the color line?

Once you have started with integration, there is no turning back. Now the government has set foot on the path which leads to the elimination of all separation measures. Could the lifting of the prohibition of the so-called "immoral" films -- "Country Lovers" and "City Lovers" -- possibly be an indication of the direction of the government's thinking?

Some universities will want to maintain their national character, others will not. However, there will be fewer white students in the future, and universities will have to struggle with the harrowing question of a few more non-white students or economic depression? Experience abroad has taught us that competition for students has turned the universities into centers of activism and has lowered their standards.

At this stage, the future for the maintenance by universities of their community character seems oppressive.

Finally, there is a little of the characteristic liberalistic racial superiority in the minister and in his newspaper argument that the number of non-whites will not increase unpleasantly. Academic performance will be the criterion, they said, and government subsidies will not just be given to every student, irrespective of how he performs!

The minister will be surprised about how black students can perform and about what will happen to a university if it rejects more non-white than white students.

8463  
CSO: 3401/8

HILTON COLLEGE TO TRAIN 'FUTURE LEADERS'

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 21 Oct 83 p 9

[Text]

SOUTH AFRICA is facing a serious shortage of talented young leaders and therefore a major new programme to play an important role in the development of future leaders has been launched by Hilton College in Natal.

The chairman of the Board of Governors, Mr Deryk Franklin, and the headmaster Mr Richard Todd, have announced that up to 160 more children with extraordinary scholastic aptitude and marked leadership qualities will be admitted to the school for their matriculation years.

"Our school had the experience of admitting boys and girls from other schools to its post-matriculation class and we also had a number of Black pupils enrolled," he said.

"This experience and the findings of leading American and British private schools which have successfully introduced similar programmes, leads us to believe that

the system will work very well indeed," Mr Todd said.

"Selection will be entirely based on merit. We hope to be able to accept 80 of these selected pupils into Standard 9 every year for a two-year course leading to the Natal Senior Certificate," Mr Todd said.

Both he and Mr Franklin felt that South Africa is facing a serious shortage of talented young leaders and that this situation could deteriorate further.

"This would be bad enough in a First World country but in a country like ours, with its very special set of problems and varied cultures, such a shortage could be catastrophic," Mr Todd said.

Mr Franklin said after a speech by Mr Nicholas Oppenheimer, the school was challenged and they were encouraged to seek a new and more meaningful way of serving South African education. "We have confidence that the new programme will work," he said.

CSO: 3400/30

SOUTH AFRICA

REPORTAGE ON VIOLENCE AT UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND

Four Reported Dead

MB310940 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0600 GMT 31 Oct 83

[Text] Four people are now officially known to have been killed in violence at the University of Zululand at the weekend, but students on the campus last night claimed the death toll had risen to six--five students and a member of Inkatha. About a dozen students are still in hospital in a critical condition, and more than 100 others had to receive hospital treatment.

The violence comes in the wake of 3 days of unrest on the campus, which reached a peak on Saturday before an Inkatha rally commemorating Zulu King Cetshwayo. Students had been opposed to the rally, saying it would lead to violence. Before the rally a group of Inkatha supporters entered the hostels and allegedly attacked students. The Inkatha supporters seemed to concentrate their attention on student supporters of the United Democratic Front. That is the view of a member of Zululand University's interim committee, (Robinson Manzi):

[Begin recording] [Manzi]: The situation here is terribly vague. People are [words indistinct]. We are asking you to be with us. We don't know what you are going to do for us. But one thing we have noticed since [words indistinct] that is our hostels after this mish-mash. We could see that all the rooms with the UDF posters were--the doors were broken down and the sheets were full of blood. Therefore it is very simple that the struggle is used against the students. The struggle is not against Chief Cetshwayo because people are not against Chief Cetshwayo. But the struggle is against the United Democratic Front. [end recording]

The Azanian Students' Movement [AZASM] has condemned the violence. AZASM President (Kabelo Lingani) says he is disgusted at the alleged attack on students:

[Begin recording] [Lingani] What is most despicable about the whole incident is that it is also alleged that at the forefront of the puppet aggressors was an academician who is employed as a lecturer with the same university. We, of the AZASM are left with no option but to, in the light of this, call

for the immediate dismissal of that lackey lecturer. We also want to warn Gatsha Buthelezi, who apparently cannot tolerate opposition to his illegitimacy, that to shift the blame to the so-called instigators is just to create a red herring, and shall not help solve the crisis. [end recording]

#### Buthelezi Comments on Violence

MB311834 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1500 GMT 31 Oct 83

[Text] The KwaZulu chief minister and Inkatha head, Gatsha Buthelezi, has commented on the violence at the university of Zululand which left five people dead at the weekend. As Carmen Ricard reports Buthelezi says Saturday's violence might be the start of what he called a black civil war.

[Ricard] Buthelezi, who was speaking today in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, said the violence was not of Inkatha's making, but according to a Durban afternoon paper he added [words indistinct] the ANC and its surrogates in an unholy alliance [words indistinct] continued to denigrate Inkatha and the king of the Zulus and continued to call Buthelezi himself a sellout, than the (?youth) of Inkatha would demonstrate their strength and their prowess more than they did on Saturday. [Words indistinct] he added, did no more than defend my honor and the honor of the king.

Buthelezi also said that in the degenerating situation on campus dagga was freely available, shebeens operated, and some residents were there simply to play political roles. He also said he had warned on a number of occasions that no one should provoke Inkatha.

#### AZAPO Blames Inkatha

MB311828 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1500 GMT 31 Oct 83

[Text] The Azanian People's Organization [AZAPO] says it blames Inkatha for the deaths on the University of Zululand Campus. AZAPO publicity secretary (Ishmael Makhabela): [Begin recording] Inkatha seems to be following the cruel and dangerous example of racist and fascist Pretoria and resorting to violence in order to win some semblance of legitimacy. History is littered with skeletons of tyrants and dictatorships. The political murder at Ongoye constitutes a national scandal and an affront to the conscience of humanity. No political maneuvering shall remove the stain of blood from the hand of the murderers. No amount of brutalities, suppression or repression can make ethnicity, tribalism, or racism acceptable. We are gravely distressed and we grieve with the families of the deceased. [end recording]

CSO: 3400/156

VERLIGTE REVOLT AGAINST MORALS LAWS REPORTED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 16 Oct 83 p 2

[Article by Sylvia Vollenhoven]

[Text] The big guns of Nationalist Afrikanerdom have launched a two-pronged attack on a key element in South Africa's apartheid society--the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts.

In two dramatic developments:

- The Western Cape regional synod of the NG Kerk could revolt against the general synod's conservative stance on the two race laws.
- A damning indictment of the laws by a group of influential Afrikaner academics will be handed in as evidence to the Parliamentary Select Committee established in June to examine the two acts.

The book, to be published next month by Tafelberg, is the first in a series of scientifically researched publications by a group of Stellenbosch academics which set out to prove that South Africa never needed the Mixed Marriages Act or the race clause in the Immorality Act.

The investigation is being led by Dr Johan Kinghorn of the Department of Biblical studies at Stellenbosch University who says: "It's no use criticising in vague terms, something concrete must be done".

### Devastating attack

The book includes:

- A devastating attack on the two acts by one of Afrikanerdom's most influential thinkers, Professor Willie Esterhuyse of Stellenbosch University.
- A personal view of the race legislation by Professor R E van der Ross, principal of the University of the Western Cape.
- A historical perspective by Leopold Scholtz, an Afrikaans journalist and son of a former editor of the Transvaler.
- A section by Professor Andreas van Wyk, dean of Stellenbosch University's law faculty, on the legal implications of the repeal of the two laws.

● An article by Dr Charles Boyd, a Tygerberg geneticist debunks the early apartheid miscegenation theory.

● A chapter by ethicist Dr Etienne de Villiers of the Hugenot College and Dr Kinghorn on the moral and theological aspects.

Dr Kinghorn anticipates a "hostile and reactionary" response to the book's uncompromising stand from certain right wing quarters.

Meanwhile on the eve of the controversial Western Cape synod which starts in Cape Town this week, Professor Esterhuyse has launched another stinging attack on the two laws claiming that they had created a "moral crisis" in Afrikanerdom, and warning that they could lead to "political instability and confrontation".

In an interview with the Sunday Times, Professor Esterhuyse said heated discussion on the issues could be expected at the synod.

He said the two laws had a very definite "destabilisation function" politically "in the sense that the acceptance and legitimacy of the South African political system is questioned among 'coloured' people."

The 1974 NGK general synod decided that marriage across the colour line was "prohibited by scripture".

After the Western Cape region asked for the decision to be changed, the wording was later altered to read that these marriages were "undesirable in the complicated South African society".

But this conservative stance was dealt a blow recently when the Northern Cape synod rejected the statement because it could not be substantiated by scripture.

Now the Stellenbosch Moedergemeente, on whose church council Professor Esterhuyse serves, is at the centre of a drive for drastic reform.

After the NGK general synod's verkrampte decision last year that mixed marriages were "undesirable", parishioners in the Western Cape wrote to their church councils, expressing dissatisfaction with the synod's stand and asking for their councils' guidance.

The councils held meetings with the five congregations at Stellenbosch and a final report compiled by the Moedergemeente will be handed in at the Western Cape Synod.

The meetings were among the most stimulating experiences he had ever had. Professor Esterhuyse said.

"There was a strong feeling that we shouldn't allow our political convictions to influence our interpretation of the Bible.

"The most important aspect is that the regional syn-

od of the Northern Cape at the beginning of October took an explicit stand against the motions adopted by the general synod.

## Feelings of uncertainty

"It is a very good pointer to what could happen at the Western Cape synod.

"I was not surprised at what happened in the Northern Cape. There is a new generation of Dutch Reformed ministers who are playing a more important role.

"People are trying to leave politics aside and listen to what the Bible says about certain issues.

"The Bible does not try to justify any social, economic or political system. Among a lot of Afrikaners there are feelings of uncertainty and even of uneasiness... a very strong moral sensitivity," said Professor Esterhuyse.

Contrary to popular belief, he said, it was not the decision of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches to declare apartheid a heresy that sparked off the soul searching and debate within the NGK.

"Belhar, not Ottawa, played a very important role," he said, referring to the subsequent Sendingkerk general synod in Belhar, Bellville.

"The Sendingkerk is so closely related to the Dutch Reformed Church. If they make decisions, we can't ignore them.

"The whole system (of apartheid) must go but that is politically not possible. We need piecemeal engineering and the best place to start is with these laws."

Asked whether he would condone the Sendingkerk's move towards civil disobedience and their decision to marry people regardless of

race, he said: "I have problems with that. I want wrongs to be righted without being provocative."

"However, the Sendingkerk stand is not provocative, I don't think they had any other choice."

## Exciting conclusions

Every item on the Western Cape Synod's agenda is embargoed until it comes up for discussion but there is no doubt discrimination based on race will receive intense attention, according to church leaders.

In addition, a comprehensive report compiled by Stellenbosch's Commission for Church Doctrine and Current Affairs — it runs into hundreds of pages — will be submitted to the synod for discussion.

Among other controversial topics, the report deals with the political position of the coloured people, cremation, occultism, the decisions and policies of the Sendingkerk, Sunday observance, the death sentence for rapists, inflation, labour unrest, racially mixed worshipping and "Ras, Volk en Nasie", the basis of the NGK's racial attitudes, which is currently under review.

"These problems are dealt with theologically and in my opinion there are some exciting conclusions and I'm very pleased with it," said the Rev Tobie de Klerk, minister in charge of the Stellenbosch Moedergemeente.

A commission for racial affairs will also table a report.

About 205 000 members from 233 congregations — from churches as far afield as the Orange River and stretching south from Victoria West and Calvinia — will be represented at the synod.

SOUTH AFRICA

KWAZULU CHIEF URGES PEACEFUL LIBERATION OF RSA

MB310608 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 30 Oct 83 Extra Section p 1

[Text] Gatsha Buthelezi, chief minister of Kwazulu and president of Inkatha, says he is deeply committed as a South African, to the total liberation of South Africa through peaceful means.

He was guest speaker at a banquet in Johannesburg on Friday to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the South African National Football Association [SANFA].

Chief Buthelezi said: "I believe that violence is not an option available to black South Africa.

"If we one day choose violence, it is because we will be forced to do so."

Chief Buthelezi went on: "We have not reached that point and violence as a primary means of liberating a country is not one of the options now available to us."

That was his stand and it was a stand which millions of black South Africans supported.

"But I can at the same time say, and I have said publicly in this country and abroad, that the threat of violence has a sobering effect on all South Africans when they look towards the future.

"I think it is a simple and honest truth that were it not for the possible eruption of violence in this country on an overwhelming scale the momentum towards the normalisation of our society would have been considerable reduced."

Chief Buthelezi said he did not believe in economic sanctions, simply because they would not work and to base a strategy on something that would not work was just not sensible politics.

"But I believe, as is the case with possible escalating violence, escalating international isolation will have a sobering influence."

Chief Buthelezi, "sharing a slight jealousy with SANFA" said: "Inkatha has a paid-up membership steadily advancing beyond the 750,000 and I think black South Africans interests in Inkatha are very substantial.

"The twinges of jealousy I feel at times are that the black South African soccer fraternity perhaps follows Inkatha in popularity."

Chief Buthelezi said he had met many people who were involved in the campaigns against South African sport, such as Chris de Broglio and Denis Brutus.

He had crossed swords with Mr Brutus at a church conference in St. Louis in the United States, but Mr Brutus complimented him for being principled enough on the sports issue to be patron of the South African Soccer Federation.

CSO: 3400/156

SOUTH AFRICA

LEADING AFRIKANER THINKER BACKS AREAS ACT CHANGE

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 16 Oct 83 p 2

[Article by Sylvia Vollenhoven]

[Text] One of Afrikanerdom's most influential thinkers has called for amendments to the Group Areas Act so that mixed race couples can live together.

In a hard-hitting chapter in a new book to be published this week, Professor Willie Esterhuyse of Stellenbosch University also says the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts violate human dignity, are unworthy of South Africa and could lead to dangerous confrontation.

This week he gave the Sunday Times an exclusive preview of his chapter in the book which will be published by Tafelberg this week.

"The tension between a Biblical indefensibility of these laws and political convictions is currently running like a rift through the crust (aardkors) of Afrikaner ranks, and for some it has resulted in a moral crisis of great intensity," he writes.

"A monster has been created over the years that can devour even people of good intentions and leave those who are reform-minded somewhat defenceless." These apartheid laws violated human dignity and attacked the basic rights of black people.

He says the debate in black circles is not merely about the repeal of the Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act, but about a complete "dismantling of the 'system' of apartheid."

Suggesting solutions to the problems mixed couples and their children could face, Professor Esterhuyse calls for the provision of special residential areas where people could freely choose to live, regardless of race.

"With regard to the lifestyle of mixed couples, it will be found that they will live where they feel welcome and where, unhindered, they can make sense of their marriage.

"There are enough segments of the South African society which are not ruled by colour and racial prejudices to such an extent that they would behave intolerantly to mixed couples," he states.

The Group Areas Act could be amended to make the same provisions for local black peoples as are presently made for black members of the diplomatic corps, other foreign blacks and the Japanese.

But, according to Professor Esterhuyse, a permit system could be as unacceptable as the present legislation.

"The fear that a wave of mixed marriages will take place that will assail the identity of the Afrikaners ignores not only the role of social conventions and mechanisms, it also assumes that 'coloureds' want to marry whites and vice-versa.

"(The coloureds) are not against this law because they want to marry white people per se. They are opposed because it offends their human dignity.

"In any case the retention of this law will not lead to people who have already chosen the HNP or CP for example, to return to the National Party in droves.

What should serve as priority is not what is suitable for the far right but what is reconcilable with the Christian conscience and what will combine to bring people of moderate convictions closer to each other."

One of the fears of those who opposed mixed marriages was that they would lead to an "open society" and would therefore be a step in the direction of full political power sharing.

"(In fact) it is a statutory measure which is unworthy of South Africa and which is contrary to the civilised and Christian standards we are trying to maintain here."

He warns that the Mixed Marriages Act and racial clause of the Immorality Act could lead to "dangerous confrontation" in the long run.

These laws, taken with other measures, made coloured people question "the acceptability and legitimacy of the existing socio-political order.

"The outspoken viewpoint of the N.G. Sendingkerk against apartheid is an illustration of this.

"These opposing attitudes and perceptions undoubtedly represent a serious conflict situation that will give rise to dangerous forms of confrontation in the long run."

However, he predicts that drastic sweeping changes could also be the "trigger mechanism of a revolution" and that step-by-step reforms are the only alternative.

The Mixed Marriages Act and the Immorality Act's Section 16 could be the "first credible step." These laws could not be improved but had to go.

It was unfortunately a misconception in this country that human behaviour had to be "judicially regimented" in the finest detail.

"It is conveniently forgotten that the Afrikaners manage to hold their own against English-speaking South Africans, without a law that prohibits marriages between peoples who speak different languages."

Many Afrikaners found themselves in a situation of moral tension about these laws and this in turn led to a crisis--especially among young people--about the legitimacy of the South African socio-political order.

Emotionally

Many whites were beginning to look at race laws through the eyes of black citizens.

"Compared to the past this represents a revolution. And what many Afrikaners begin to see does not give them peace of mind."

"This shift (in thinking) is an indication of the crack that has come about, especially in recent times, in the granite wall of the traditional apartheid ideology," Professor Esterhuyse writes.

Professor Johan Kinghor, editor of the book, says his chapter will deal with the whole concept of the interpretation of the Afrikaner's history "as a creation of God, specially brought here by God and the image of the pious Voortrekker who did nothing else but read his Bible all day and did not mix with coloureds and blacks."

He said the book was aimed at the "centre of the Nationalist Party, the average Dutch Reformed Church members, interested ministers and laymen."

"We are not compromising, the standpoint is obvious right from the start that these laws are unacceptable completely and should never have been there."

"But we are trying to write it in a conciliatory way and trying to be as scientific as possible in our research and not be emotional about it."

"But I can appreciate the fact that it will probably be received very emotionally by a number of people because we go into people's basic motives."

"And they will become hostile and reactionary," said Dr Kinghorn.

He said the type of opinion expressed by Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treunricht this week--he accused fellow Afrikaners of rejecting the Kingship of Christ--showed what they were up against.

In addition to the book, Dr Kinghorn is also conducting further research into the laws that prohibit sex and marriage across the colour line.

"I'm trying to find out what the religious, dogmatic arguments were which supported the concept of apartheid," he said.

According to Dr Kinghorn, the debate among Afrikaners on race legislation was "going to escalate."

"I can understand why the agitation (for these laws) was so religiously based. It was the only way to motivate their actions adequately with the public.

"But people will have to undergo a religious evolution," he said.

(Report by Sylvia van Vollenhoven, 77 Burg Street, Cape Town)

CSO: 3400/30

SOUTH AFRICA

CULTURAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF COLOREDS DISCUSSED

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 22 Sep 83 p 20

[Letter from Dr Pieter W. Grobelaar, chairman of the Department of African Cultural History at the University of Stellenbosch: "Coloreds Also Creators of our Culture"]

[Text] Dr Pieter W. Grobelaar, chairman of the Department of African Cultural History at the University of Stellenbosch, writes:

It is really amusing to read in your opinion column that people are once again arguing about the question of how much "white blood" the coloreds really have in their veins. A few years ago, this percentage -- based on independent medical and genealogical research -- was set at roughly 30 percent, but I considered this of so little importance that I did not even write down the reference.

However, the core of the question evidently is the fact that your correspondents believe that it will enable them to prove how little or how much claim the coloreds can make on African culture -- as if culture were something mystical which resides in the blood. A person's blood composition has basically nothing to do with his culture. You can inherit certain abilities (or lack of abilities) from your forebears; you can inherit certain ailments of the body or mind, or a predisposition toward such ailments; you can inherit blue eyes or frizzy hair. But culture must be acquired.

Delving

Culture is many things, and nobody has ever been able to grasp it completely in a single definition. Yet, it can be said that it encompasses all the spiritual and material creations of man, as well as the manner in which man deals with these creations and with his fellow man. Major cultural anchors are language and religion. Every child that is born has to learn anew how to deal with all those things, and if he is talented he will perhaps also create his own piece of culture. Or are there people who thought that a French baby was born speaking French? Or a protestant baby protestant and a catholic baby catholic?

I have been thinking about these questions for a long time. I have read a great deal about them and have delved into the national culture. And even

though, brought up with the color prejudice of our generation, it was not easy for me to reach this point, it would be intellectual treason for me not to testify to what I have discovered. And that is that the colored people are just as much creators and carriers of the African culture as any white Afrikaner (with his own 7 percent of non-white blood in his veins).

#### Dr Verwoerd

Let me mention a few examples for those who are not yet convinced that culture is learned. Dr H.F. Verwoerd was born a Dutchman and spent a major part of his early years in English Southern Rhodesia. And yet, today nobody would dare to say that he was not an Afrikaner. He was an Afrikaner because he wanted to be one.

Nobody would say that the German orphans, who were brought to South Africa after the Second World War, did not become good Afrikaners (where they were placed in good Afrikaner homes). A person can even go so far as to be able to reject one culture and adhere to another within a single lifespan. Just think about the anglicanization of our own people yesterday -- and today. And if you are gifted you can also make special contributions in your new cultural group. There is, for example, the role played in our Afrikaner literature by Jochem van Bruggen and J. van Melle, who were both born Dutchmen.

Miscegenation in itself has never yet led to cultural decline. This goes together with things such as economic factors and educational opportunities. The proud, dignified Governor Simon van der Stel was 50-50 mixed blood. The great Western civilizations of the ancient Greeks and Romans developed after reasonable barbarian invaders mixed with the native population groups. In each case, however, there were first "dark ages" before the advent of the great revival.

#### Lift Up Heads

Our white Afrikaners experienced our own "dark ages" before we were really able to lift up our heads in the late 20th century. The end of the "dark ages" of the coloreds is in sight, and we can expect a major period of revival.

8463  
CSO: 3401/6

PROJECTED RESETTLEMENT OF KWANGEMA SCORED

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 18 Oct 83 p 4

[Untitled Editorial]

[Text]

ANOTHER little settlement is facing the spectre of being uprooted by the government for the purpose of building a dam, something that strikes us as being especially shortsighted and insensitive.

It is amazing the kind of crude reasons given for creating so much bitterness among hundreds of blacks by this government. It would seem to us that the material benefits out of the building of a dam are dwarfed by the human suffering and attendant hate and bitterness caused to so many people.

The residents of KwaNgema, a place a stone's throw away from the village of Driefontein, which was shot into world headlines when its black leader died from a bullet wound, have vowed that they will not leave their homes. There are others, however, who instead of getting themselves embroiled in a long and bitter struggle, have left for the new settlement.

The residents of the farm in Wakkerstroom, near Piet Retief told a representative of the Department of Co-operation and Development that they were not prepared to leave their ancestral homes for Babanangu in Natal.

They bought their farm in 1904, they told our reporters, and the move to get them out for the building of a dam has infuriated them. It has also led to disillusionment and acute uncertainty about their future.

The removals of millions of blacks from their homes has been going on almost relentlessly for years and we sometimes wonder if those who are spurred by political motives ever stop to think of the suffering caused by such ploys.

It seems that insult is added to injury when these people are moved to arid outposts somewhere in the homelands. Apart from the trauma in being uprooted from homes families have built with sweat and tears, there is the added fear of moving into unknown non-viable outposts in the homelands. Small wonder there are brave families who say they are not prepared to leave their present homes.

The people of Driefontein who live nearby were given some respite after the tragedy of Mr Saul Mkhize's death. As would happen, it was only after this grim act that the world took notice of these villagers. We are hoping that the people of Kwa-

**Ngema would receive an equal amount of exposure and publicity in their present plight.**

The hope of their overcoming this impending resettlement on their own, is dim, for even with the world shouting to the government to change its plans and let the villagers live in peace, if the resolve is to move them, they will have to move. Whatever happens to them, however, we believe it is the duty of every South African to search his or her conscience and see if this kind of act can be allowed to go on indefinitely.

We are dealing here with not only the lives of people in their immediate circumstances but with their future. What kind of future are the children of this village looking forward to? We wonder what their parents can offer them as hope for a chance to live normal steady lives in the future. If only for this we appeal to those in charge to perhaps reconsider their plans, and scrap this diabolical shifting of whole villages from one place to the other.

CSO: 3400/30

NATAL SOUTH COAST EXPANSION REPORTED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 17 Oct 83 p 5

[Text]

DURBAN — Development involving scores of millions of rands is taking place on the Natal South Coast.

"We're expanding so fast we're still trying to catch our breath," said Mr Duncan Collocott, the Town Clerk of Margate.

The council had approved building plans worth R15,5 million in the past five months.

This was nearly double last year's total of R8,4 million.

The latest development included 120 houses as well as 173 flats.

At Uvongo building plans worth R9,5 million — including 133 flats and 92 houses — have been approved in the last nine months.

Last year a total of R6,25 million was approved.

"It's really reached a crescendo," Town Clerk Mr Rodney Turner said yesterday.

He said four blocks of flats comprising about 40 units and worth R2,5 million were also envisaged as well as a large shopping centre.

At Ramsgate two large flat developments have recently been completed,

and at Scottburgh R8,5 million worth of building plans have been passed since the beginning of the year.

This was more than the total for the whole of 1982, a spokesman said.

"So things are also hotting up here."

He said plans for 142 flats had been approved and about 30 percent of these were for holiday purposes.

A large commercial centre was also planned and a shopping centre worth R250 000 had been built.

A bumper Christmas season is expected on the South Coast. An official of the Margate Publicity Association said there was only a small amount accommodation available at the beginning of December.

The rest of the season had been fully booked for "a couple of months."

She said booking had gone better this year, possibly because more accommodation was now available.

The recent introduction of a direct flight from Jan Smuts Airport to Margate was a draw-card for the coast, officials said.

CSO: 3400/30

SOUTH AFRICA

SITUATION OF FARMERS ON QWAQWA BORDER DISCUSSED

Bloemfontein DIE VOLKSBLAD in Afrikaans 21 Sep 83 p 12

[Editorial: "Border Farmers"]

[Text] The fears of the farmers affected by the new Qwaqwa borders is understandable, especially when you look at the problems encountered on and off by the farmers along the borders of Lesotho. The grievances they expressed to Dr Nak van der Merwe were not related to the principle of consolidation or the need to provide land to the new state with its rapidly growing population either. It is practical considerations which bother them, considerations which are very closely related to good neighborliness.

To accept local border lines as the international borders is the simplest and most obvious way to proceed, because to determine visual and natural topographical border lines everywhere would make the process of consolidation so much more complicated and would probably affect more farms. Yet, this is a possibility which cannot be completely rejected.

However, the costs must always be kept in mind, in view of the fact that the government does not have unlimited sources of income and that, because of the drought, it is compelled to provide quite a bit of aid to farmers all over the country. The Qwaqwa government is also eager to keep white farmers on their farms within Qwaqwa. The construction of a safety border with only a few crossing points could make life inconvenient for them.

The much longer border of Ciskei, for example, was not transformed into a Berlin wall, and the situation did not become untenable. All neighbors know that a clear border is necessary, but the cost and the urgency of it must constantly and in each case be weighed against other investments by the state which would stimulate economic growth and production.

8463  
CSO: 3401/8

SOUTH AFRICA

ORANGE FREE STATE TO DECIDE ON INDIANS' RESIDENCE RIGHTS

Bloemfontein DIE VOLKSBLAD in Afrikaans 23 Sep 83 p 2

[Article by M. van Wijk: "OVS To Decide on Indians Itself"]

[Text] Reitz -- The inhabitants of the Orange Free State [OVS] will decide for themselves whether Indians will be given residence rights in that province, Minister of Law and Order Louis le Grange said here during a referendum meeting.

He was responding to a question from the audience about whether, according to the proposed new allocation, Indians would be given residence rights in the Orange Free State.

High Standard

The minister called on all parties to maintain a high standard of debate about the referendum. "In this debate, we must face each other with the truth and not with lies," he said.

"People must consider the new constitution in a spirit of practical realism -- the same realism with which the National Party has tried all those years to create a better system for all the population groups in the country," he said.

The minister reacted strongly against pamphlets being circulated now by the Conservative Party to discourage people from voting yes in the referendum, and he pointed to blatant lies in the pamphlets, such as the allegation that the National Party is in the forefront of the attack against South Africa.

Warning

He also warned the audience against the increasingly leftist views of the Progressive Federal Party and said that the party leader, Dr F. Van Zyl Slabbert, has admitted himself that implementation of his party's policy would lead to a black majority government.

All the whites in the country now have the opportunity to work together for a realistic new system in South Africa, Minister Le Grange said; and he made an appeal to far left and far right individuals to move together now while there is still a chance to do so peacefully and from a position of power.

A motion of confidence in the new constitution which was introduced at the end of the meeting, was adopted nearly unanimously. Only about 10 people voted against it.

SOUTH AFRICA

DECLINE IN HARBOUR TRAFFIC STEMMED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 16 Oct 83 p 8

[Article by Elizabeth Rouse]

[Text]

SIGNS that the decline in harbour traffic has been stemmed are apparent in the August figures of cargo tonnage handled.

However, preliminary financial year-end figures show that the SATS harbour division, though still a profit-earner, handled significantly less cargo in the 1982-1983 year.

Preliminary figures reveal that harbours, in tonnage terms, handled 10,7% less bulk cargo and 20,5% less general cargo in the year to March 1983 compared with the previous financial year.

The biggest decline took place in general cargo landed, reflecting the sharp fall in imports. Total cargo was down 28,2% to 9,8-million tons from 13,6-million.

General cargo shipped fell off by 11,4% to 10,3-million from 11,6-million, bringing total general cargo handled down to just over 20-million tons from 25,3-million tons.

However, bulk cargo handled, which provides harbours with the major part of their income, did not decline by the same percentage.

Bulk import cargo was down 11% to 2,4-million tons from April 1982 to March 1983 from 3,1-million in the previous financial year.

Bulk cargo shipped, made up mainly of coal and ore shipments, fell by 10% to 50,5-million from 56,2-million.

In total, bulk cargo handled came off nearly 53-million from 59,3-million tons.

While the number of ocean-going ships calling at South African ports were still diminishing — down at 462 in August from 511 in August a year ago — exports shipped showed a small increase to 4,9-million tons from 4,7-million tons.

Imports were slightly below that of a year ago at near 1,18-million from 1,2-million tons.

Total cargo handled, including coastwise traffic, moved up slightly to 6,45-million tons from 6,25-million tons.

Ore exports from Richards Bay have remained constant at around 2,9-million tons a month, but Saldanha Bay's iron-ore shipments remain poor at 807 576 tons a month. Durban landed more than it shipped — probably Christmas season goods coming in — at 783 113 tons landed compared with 725 945 tons shipped.

Cape Town landed much more than it shipped — 224 782 tons against 100 621 tons landed.

CSO: 3400/30

GOOD RAINFALL REPORTED FOR MANY AREAS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 20 Oct 83 p 5

[Excerpts]

REPORTS of good rainfall are still being received from many parts of the country.

Large areas of Natal, the Orange Free State, Transvaal, the Northern Cape, QwaQwa, Transkei, Ciskei and Lesotho have received good soaking rains.

The Weather Bureau in Pretoria reported that more rain could be expected.

Rains have brought relief to the drought stricken areas of Natal. Up to 25mm was recorded at places in the Midmar Dam catchment area. The Midmar Dam serves both Pietermaritzburg and Durban.

At St Lucia 82mm was measured since Tuesday, at Port Edward 54mm, at Port Shepstone 29mm and in Durban 21mm. The Natal interior has also had good rains. Rainfalls were reported in Underberg, Kokstad, Newcastle, Ladysmith, Vryheid, Dundee, Hardinge, Cedarville and Estcourt.

**impassable**

In the Drakensberg area, roads to the Injasuti Nature Reserve are impassable.

Mr Ered Munro, engineer for the Department of Water Affairs in Natal, said for the first time this year there was reason to be optimistic about an improvement in the water supply.

He said rivers were flowing more strongly and the inflow to all major dams in the province had improved slightly. He added, however, that even if good rains fell this summer, it was unlikely that water restrictions would be completely lifted before the end of next year.

The South African Sugar Association said rain has fallen over a large part of the Natal Cane Belt, but would primarily benefit only next year's crop.

### Drought

The drought has already resulted in the estimate of the cane crop being reduced by 300 000 tons, although the rain could result in an improvement in the cane to be milled by February.

In the Eastern Transvaal, where cane farmers rely on irrigation, the position is precarious because of the drought and hot weather conditions.

Good rains have also fallen in large parts of the Free state and the Northern Cape.

Rain fell at Harrismith, Hertzogville, Trompsburg, Viljoenskroon, Bothaville, Villiers, Farys, Edenville, Bethlehem, Kroonstad, Reddersburg, Winburg, Hoopstad, Frankfort, Zaston, Kuruman, De Aar, Douglas, Vryburg and Danielskuil.

In the Transvaal, the highest rainfall was re-

corded at Piet Retief where 20mm fell. Standerton, Ermelo, Potchefstroom and parts of the Witwatersrand, Pretoria and the Vaal Triangle have also had good rains.

Reports of rain have also come from as far west as Ottosdal. In the northern and north-western parts of the Transvaal no rain had fallen.

A little rain has also fallen at Witbank, Bronkhorstspruit and Marble Hall.

### Relief

Rain has brought relief to the Transkei. Smaller dams are overflowing and there is now enough drinking water for cattle in many areas.

From the Ciskei it has been reported that the main dam supplying King Williamstown is overflowing. It has been raining there since Saturday. Water restrictions would remain in force, however, until all the dams have enough water. — Sapa.

CSO: 3400/30

HEAVY RAINS HIT TRANSVAAL, OFS, NATAL, N. CAPE

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 21 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Excerpts] Five people, including two toddlers, died as hail and lightning lashed the Transvaal on Wednesday night and early yesterday morning.

Hailstorms caused damage in the western and northern suburbs of Johannesburg and homes and gardens in Pretoria as well as other parts of the Witwatersrand were damaged by the hailstones which some residents reported as being as large as golfballs.

Heavy downpours fell over widespread areas of Transvaal, the Free State, Natal and the Northern Cape with up to 40 mm being recorded at some places. In some areas winds reached speeds of up to 80 km/h and crops were damaged by hail. Motorists arriving in Johannesburg from Natal say they drove in heavy rain almost all the way.

Reports of soaking rains have been received from the drought-stricken areas of Zululand and Empangeni had 50 mm. In Northern Natal 33 mm was recorded at Newcastle. Earlier reports of good rains were also received from the Natal Midlands and the north and south coasts.

#### Orchards

It also rained well over the Free State, but reports of damage to buildings, crops and orchards have been received from the districts of Harrismith, Warden and Hertzogville. At Trompsburg 40 mm was recorded.

Thunderstorms have also been experienced in the Northern Cape and several reports of hail damage and power cuts were received. Soaking rains fell over the drought-stricken areas of Transkei and Ciskei.

The South African Sugar Association says good rains have started falling over the Natal sugar regions, but it has come too late to have any effect on this year's crops.

A spokesman for the Department of Environmental Affairs in Pretoria said that if the rains continued the prospects of

the drought breaking would improve.

Mrs C Oosthuizen of the department said: "If the rains continue then of course things will be better all round but we need a good deal more rain before there is any real improvement."

Mrs Oosthuizen said that the Vaal Dam increased its capacity slightly following the rains but it would be a few days before the real figures were available as it took some time for the water to reach the dam from catchment areas.

"There have been good rains in the catchment areas. The dams capacity has risen from 21,77 percent to 21,91 percent already," she said.

One of the rivers which feeds the Vaal Dam, the Wilge, has overflowed its banks.

Over the Vaal Triangle good rains have been reported, with 47 mm falling at Vereeniging, 39 mm at The Barrage and 25 mm at Sasolburg.

On the East Rand 46 mm was recorded at Benoni, 21 mm at Brakpan, 26 mm at Boksburg and 13 mm at Springs.

In Cape Town, the area least affected by the drought, Mr A Newton of the Department of Environmental Affairs said that most dams in the Cape were 100 percent full.

#### Fortunate

"We have been very fortunate here and we have enough water for the coming year provided we have our normal quota of rainfall," he said.

Mr Newton said that there was no real problem in the Cape and even the Karoo had enough water.

SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

SAA DEFICIT--South African Airways, which budgeted for an April-August working deficit of R50,2 million, had an actual loss of R16,1 million, the Minister of Transport Affairs, Mr Hendrik Schoeman said in Pretoria today. During the same period last year the deficit was R27,5 million, against a budgeted R22,6 million. In July and August this year the South African Transport Services had budgeted for shortfalls of R5,3 million and R8,4 million respectively, but returned profits of R4,6 million and R1,2 million respectively. Regarding SATS as a whole, moves to curb spending instituted last year were already showing dividends, Mr Schoeman said. Although a deficit of R269,9 million was budgeted for April-August this year, the actual loss was R102,5 million. During the same period last year, a loss of R127,6 million was incurred against an estimated R27.9 million surplus. A profit of R1,6 million was achieved in June.--Sapa [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 14 Oct 83 p 10M]

ENERGY INDUSTRY--South African industry, which draws its energy and chemical feedstock from coal mines at controlled, artificially low prices, unrelated to world markets, is in an ideal position to steal a march on the rest of the world. Speaking at the Capex '84 Conference in Randburg today, Mr Alan Howell, manager, colliery services, of the Transvaal Coal Owners' Association said the rate of price increase of inland coal since 1978 had been consistently lower than that of the consumer price index, while the track of low grade coal had been particularly good. The heady days of 1981 when coal prices rose steeply and spot cargoes were sold at "exciting prices" to consumers who left themselves short, appeared to have gone forever. Prices had fallen by US\$15, or 30 percent, and were now at a level which discouraged investment in mines, railway facilities and harbours. But Mr Howell expects prices to recover in five years. Entrepreneurs should be encouraged by long-term trends of low inland coal prices. Beneficiation of aluminium, ferro-alloys and stainless steel into finished goods and development in other fields, could make South Africa a major supplier in energy-intensive products. [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 14 Oct 83 p 11M]

VISTA UNIVERSITY OPENS--Vista University, with campuses in five major centres of South Africa, was officially opened in Pretoria last night. Planning for the university started five years ago with the idea of bringing education to Blacks in all the major areas at fees which could be afforded. The university already has 800 full-time and 2 000 part-time students throughout the country. Campuses were established in Mamelodi, Bloemfontein, Soweto, Port Elizabeth and Sebokeng. In his opening speech the Minister of Education

and Training, Mr Danie Steyn, said the university will provide a system of higher education which would enable students of all ages, backgrounds and levels of income to participate in the search for knowledge and individual development. He said South Africa had enough people and it was unnecessary to waste the human material of the country. "Vista will provide some of these human material with the necessary university education," he said. Mr Steyn said the university would provide the opportunity for all Black students with the potential to study and develop themselves. He said knowledge was important to increase the standard of living for Blacks and that he hoped that Vista would be an inspiration to the youth to take this opportunity. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 21 Oct 83 p 3]

KOTZE SLAMMED--The Minister of Community Development, Mr Pen Kotze, was last night accused of cynically using the Indians living in the Johannesburg suburb of Mayfair as political pawns in the Referendum campaign. Speaking at a house meeting in Craighall Park, Mr Peter Soal, Progressive Federal Party MP for Johannesburg North, said Mr Kotze's warning to Coloureds and Indians to immediately leave White residential areas "strips away the thin mask of 'verligtheid' to reveal the ugly and brutal face of apartheid. "Mr Kotze's statement has also created instability and uncertainty in a multi-racial community which has lived happily side-by-side for many years," Mr Soal said. He called on the Minister to leave Mayfair alone and give his full attention to the massive housing crisis in the country. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 21 Oct 83 p 3]

SASOL IN W TRANSVAAL--SASOL fuel will soon be available in the Western Transvaal and Bophuthatswana as part of the Sasol group's expansion programme in those areas. The Managing Director of Sasol Fuel, Mr George Botha, will launch the programme at an official ceremony in Lichtenburg today.--Sapa [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 21 Oct 83 p 13]

SURVEY OF STUDENTS--A snap survey on the campus of Pretoria University has led the campus newspaper to believe that many students "haven't a clue" about the Referendum and what is going on in the political arena. Findings of the survey, published in the student newspaper "Die Perdeby" reveal that many students interviewed either did not know what was going on, or had very little or faulty knowledge. However, the newspaper stressed that the survey must not be taken as completely representative of the student body. A number of interesting answers were obtained from students in the survey. For instance, one student defined the President's Council as "a body in which all people agree." One girl student asked about the planned new pattern of government said: "There is a new system of government. The State President or whatever is elected out of the 'dinges' the bunch of Cabinet Ministers made up out of three departments, or whatever." A number of students sidestepped questions, "I am no politician." "You are trying to get me involved in politics" and "I don't know what's going on in politics." Nor, for some students, did the date of November 2 have much significance--except possibly for one girl who commented that her birthday was on the third. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 21 Oct 83 p 4]

POLICE DISPERSE KWAZULU UNIVERSITY PROTESTORS--There is mounting tension at the University of Zululand campus in Ngoye because of a planned Inkatha rally tomorrow. As Carmen Ricard reports, more than 1,000 students are boycotting classes today: [Ricard] There is a complete boycott of classes at the university today, and on-campus witnesses told me that students have spent the morning so far gathered in the area known as Freedom Square, where they have been singing freedom songs. According to students, police moved in shortly after 1000 and are using teargas to disperse the protestors. Another source told me that most of the staff have left the campus because of the unrest. The student protest is over a massive Inkatha rally to be addressed by Inkatha leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, scheduled to start at 1000 tomorrow. Students have warned of their concern that if tomorrow's meeting does go ahead, there could be trouble, as the majority on campus are strongly opposed to Inkatha for allegedly promoting tribalism, and to Buthelezi himself for being--in their words--part of the government's homeland system. [Text] [MB281240 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1000 GMT 28 Oct 83]

BOPHUTHATSWANA LEADER ON NONRECOGNITION--The president of the South African Republic of Bophuthatswana, President Lucas Mangope, said nonrecognition of his country by other countries is a serious problem because it blocks access to international loans and other aid. But Mr Mangope, on a 3-day visit to Paris to seek investment by French companies in Bophuthatswana, said his country was less dependent on South Africa than some countries in the region. South Africa provided aid, he said, equivalent to only 6 percent of his country's budget. He stressed the potential wealth of Bophuthatswana, especially in strategic minerals. [Text] [MB281644 Johannesburg International Service in English 1500 GMT 28 Oct 83]

STRATEGIC ROLE IN AFRICA--The South African minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Chris Heunis, says South Africa would have a decisive role to play in a final clash between the superpowers of the world because of its strategic location and mineral riches. He told a public meeting at Graaff-Reinet in the Eastern Cape Province that South Africa was one of the two treasure chambers in the world. He said the world was looking with envy at South Africa because the country was important for the stability of Africa. If the communist powers would gain control of the natural resources of South Africa, the West could be brought to its knees. Mr Heunis said the results of the referendum would determine if it would be possible to increase the governing capacity of the country after 2 November. He said it was difficult to govern a country like South Africa with its diverse populations according to democratic principles. The minister said that if the white population voted "yes" for constitutional change, it would increase the governing capacity of the country because more than just the whites would be able to share in the process of governing. [Text] [MB291217 Johannesburg International Service in English 0630 GMT 29 Oct 83]

'COMMUNIST ONSLAUGHT' SCORED--The minister of transport services, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, says it appears as though the general population does not want to accept the malicious and comprehensive nature of the communist onslaught against South Africa. Unveiling a memorial plaque of the South African Railways and Harbors Service Union at the new Durban Station, Mr Schoeman said the onslaught was increasing daily, and all kinds of strategies were being used over a wide spectrum with the final goal being total control over the southern tip of Africa. Mr Schoeman said the onslaught was not confined to acts of war, but also manifested itself in the economic, cultural, and religious fields. [Text] [MB291208 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 1115 GMT 29 Oct 83]

CSO: 3400/156

MOBUTU GIVES STRICT WARNING TO AGITATORS

Text of Speech

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 26 Sep 83 pp 9-10

[Speech by President Mobutu Sese Seko to the MPR Central Committee in Kinshasa on 24 September 1983]

[Text] Marshal Mobutu has urged all Zairians to exhibit a sense of civic responsibility and revolutionary discipline so as to ensure strict success with the economic and financial measures adopted by the Executive Council as part of the effort to combat the crisis. He also issued a strict warning to the agitators who are challenging the country's political options and announced that they would be reduced to impotence if they continued on that path.

The chairman-founder of the MPR was addressing the nation as the Central Committee wound up its seventh session at the Palace of the People on Saturday. He said that the measures announced last 9 September concerning not only the exchange rate of the zaire but also the price policy on essential items fall within the framework of the agreement expected with the IMF. The father of the nation acknowledged the hardships being imposed on the people by implementation of those measures, but he insisted that there was no alternative for effectively combating the crisis. "The pill is a bitter one, but there is no alternative except to swallow it," he emphasized before saying at another point: "Adjustments, accommodations, and corrective measures may be considered if necessary, because I lead men, not sheep."

The constraints imposed by the IMF's austerity programs on countries turning to it for help are unpopular above all else. Their success depends basically on the confidence placed by the people concerned in their leader. This is the case in Zaire, where all the party members are complying with their guide's watchwords concerning rigor.

During his speech, the chief of state also discussed the lengthy educational process that the MPR has carried out in the nation, which believes deeply in its rediscovered unity and in the restored peace--factors enabling it to devote itself in complete peace of mind to the tasks of development.

The father of the nation promised exemplary punishment to all the agitators trying to challenge those achievements of the revolution of 24 November 1965: "All those who believe they can perpetually defy authority will find me in their path."

The warning is clear and unambiguous, because the guide said: "They are a gang of outlaws, and I promise you they will be treated as such." And the marshal concluded with these words: "The members of the MPR are, by and large, peaceable and hard-working. They must be protected from subversion, brainwashing, and discouragement."

Here is the complete text of the chief of state's speech.

Citizen members of the Central Committee,

We have reached the end of our work in this seventh regular session. For 5 days we have been evaluating the entire situation, both economic and political, that currently prevails in our country.

Everyone remembers the Central Committee's sixth regular session. We devoted that session to the reaffirmation of the MPR's leading role. We did so at a time when the party seemed to be in a bad way--at a time when the spirit of the MPR seemed to be dissolving slowly but surely.

We took that opportunity to proclaim, publicly and solemnly, our attachment to all the values on which our current political system is based. And the importance of the sixth session did not escape anyone's attention.

The seventh session, which we will soon be concluding, is also occurring at a time that I regard as critical to Zaire on two levels: economic and political.

Free Enterprise: Basic Option in Economic Plan

In the economic field, as you know, the basic option chosen by us is free enterprise. Decision No NR 07/CC-81 of 8 June 1981 of the Central Committee confirms that option. All economic activity since then has been in complete agreement with that new orientation.

Since the MPR's third regular congress in December 1982, moreover, we have given a new look to our country's entire economic life. I announced at the conclusion of that congress that 1983 would be characterized by rigor in all our actions. And I think I can say that we have observed that rigor to date.

From January until now, rigor has remained the key word in the conduct of public affairs. It is enough to take a look at budget management in particular.

Aware of the scope, complexity, and constraints of the task before us, I also issued a patriotic appeal to all my people, and I am quoting what I said: "When the requirements for our economic recovery lead us to adopt measures which seem hard--indeed unpopular--I will ask each party member, whether a cadre or not and regardless of the organization or sector to which he or she belongs, to understand and militantly support those measures for the greatest good of our country and for nothing but the good of the country." End of quotation.

#### Civic Responsibility and Revolutionary Discipline Urged

I believe the time has come to appeal once again to the sense of civic responsibility and revolutionary discipline in each member of the MPR.

The reason is that in view of our performance during the first 6 months of this year, and with a view to concluding a new agreement with the IMF, a number of economic and financial measures were adopted and announced by the Executive Council on 9 September.

Those decisions, which form a unit within the framework of that agreement, affect not only the exchange rate of the zaire but also the price policy with respect to essential items, fuel, and foreign exchange in particular.

#### Bitter Pill Must Be Swallowed

I am a responsible chief of state. I lead a people numbering 30 million souls: fathers, mothers, children, young people, old people, workers, civil servants, peasants, students, teachers and soldiers. In short, I lead men, not sheep, as I have always reiterated.

I must admit that the terms of the agreements with the IMF are hard, although it is also true that the program will last for only 15 months, and also even though at the end of that period, the program, if correctly and rigorously implemented, will give sensational results for our economy and the social well-being of all our people.

Meanwhile, I admit that the pill is bitter, but there is no alternative except to swallow it. When the time comes, we will join with our foreign partners engaged in the execution of this program in making a general and realistic evaluation of the situation. Adjustments, accommodations, and corrective measures may be considered if necessary. Because, I repeat, I lead men, not sheep.

Very often, when we bow to the constraints of this type of unpopular program--and they are unpopular--our foreign partners congratulate us and admire our political courage. That is good! But it would be even better for them to know that programs of this kind can only be contemplated in a country whose people are behind their leader because they trust him: in a country where the people--as is the case in Zaire--believe in the ideals adopted by their entire political

system thanks to lengthy and laborious work for permanent education, persuasion, and the constant dissemination of values that stir people to action--in short, in a country where the people want to remain deeply attached to their national unity and to the peace and security that constitute the only platform and the best guarantee for all their activities.

I keenly hope, therefore, that we will be understood when we proclaim our intransigence concerning the political options and system of government that we have freely chosen for implementing that platform.

#### Single Party: Platform for Zaire's National Unity and Peace

We have succeeded in doing so thanks to the single-party system established by the MPR.

I don't want to philosophize concerning this concept of the single party. I will simply note that thanks to the single-party system, we are better able to exalt the virtues of unity and peace. That is why, in this respect, we will always remain intransigent. And I take the liberty of emphasizing this forcefully.

Why must I emphasize it?

#### The "Convention" Is Having Fun

Last 19 May I decreed a general amnesty. I will tell you straight out that I did so very freely in my soul and conscience and with the hope that a new page would be turned in our country's political history.

Abroad, Zairian citizens renounced their exile and returned to the fold. Inside the country, the doors of the prisons were opened wide. For everyone, it was the occasion for a big celebration.

All serious observers appreciated the great significance of our decision. And 4 months after taking that step, I still feel that I did the right thing.

Since then, I have been constantly listening and observing things and people. But what has happened? Whereas some people understood the meaning of the pardon, others, relying on alleged foreign support, made up their minds to again follow the path of agitation in their own ways: some by creating an incident here, others by holding a thanksgiving mass there, and still others by meeting in a bar or in small circles of friends. I followed all this with the thought: the convention is having fun.

#### Strict Warning to Agitators

But beginning today, Saturday 24 September, I consider that the time for fun has lasted long enough. The Manifesto of N'Sele, our basic charter, is clear. And in one of its passages, it says: "The freedom of the individual must not lead to anarchy in the state. The economic development of the nation and the personal emancipation of the citizens are not possible except in a politically

structured state. The authority of the state cannot be disputed; the government does not yield to groups, be they special interest groups or groups of opinion. The presidential system will assert its authority over all and throughout the country." End of quotation.

The MPR--the party-state--constitutes an organized power. It must govern, safeguard its achievements, and not yield, much less capitulate. In view of the vast program for our country's economic and financial recovery, we will not accept the slightest distraction, regardless of its source. All those who believe they can perpetually defy authority will find me in their path.

I am firm when it comes to defending the basic values on which the survival of the Zairian people depends.

Since 1965, in our joys and in our sorrows, in our difficulties and in our successes, we have always developed and maintained that deep feeling of national unity--true unity, which is not simply the sum total of feelings or private interests, but a fellowship of hearts and minds and a merging of interests in an overall vision of shared objectives.

The framework par excellence that we all discovered as a means of achieving, consolidating, and perpetuating that unity is none other than the MPR. And that happened 18 years ago. My question is this: in which Zairians do some individuals want to inculcate now--18 years later--a new conception of union and social progress? What kind of union can there be when a few embittered individuals, who are tribalists to boot, get together to establish what is nothing more than an association of common lawbreakers whose only goal is to do harm? It is clear that they are a gang of outlaws, and I promise you that they will be treated as such from now on.

The Zairian people have long memories. In our country's political history, they know who their torturers were in the past--the same ones who occupied high political posts and left nothing but a mess behind them. Today the people are able to recognize those torturers of yesterday. In the past, they occupied high political positions and revealed themselves to be incapable of the slightest brilliant act. Do those clever people think they are now capable of reinventing hot water or the steam engine? And of getting themselves taken seriously?

For my part, I say that none of that is responsible. The MPR Central Committee has examined that entire situation during this seventh regular session. Clear and vigorous decisions have been reached.

#### To Protect Party Members From Discouragement

The members of the MPR are, by and large, peaceable and hard-working. They must be protected from subversion, brainwashing, and discouragement. All of the country's appropriate departments, whether the party's specialized branches or the departments responsible in particular for public security, have been given the mission, effective today, of redoubling their vigilance, revising their methods where necessary, and reducing criminals of all kinds to impotence so as to jealously protect the invaluable achievements of the revolution.

As far as I personally, as constitutional guarantor of this country's peace and unity, am concerned, I will put an end at all costs to any form of agitation that is aimed at regaining ground in Zaire.

Democracy, freedom, and human rights will never serve as a pretext for anyone to establish anarchy, license, and irresponsibility in our country. And as is stated in article 28 of the Constitution, "Every Zairian is responsible for the smooth operation of the activities of the Popular Movement of the Revolution and therefore has the duty, through constant vigilance, to support the revolution, defend its achievements, and safeguard national unity and the integrity of the territory." End of quotation.

Therefore--in defending our achievements, which are restored unity, dignity, and peace--in the fervor of our revolutionary faith and in our firm determination to win the battle of economic recovery,

We will turn the Zaire of our ancestors into a great country, prosperous and worthy of the best hopes.

The MPR having been heard,

Zaire having been heard,

I declare the work of the seventh regular session of the MPR Central Committee ended.

Thank you.

#### Editorial Weighs Message

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 26 Sep 83 pp 1, 8

[Editorial by Essolomwa Nkoy ea Linganga: "The Meaning of an Appeal"]

[Text] In closing the seventh regular session of the MPR Central Committee, the chairman-founder of the MPR and president of the republic, Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, delivered an important speech which had the merit of completely removing the ambiguity and confusion that some agitators were deliberately keeping alive concerning our political system and the recent economic and monetary measures adopted by the Executive Council.

Last Saturday, as is true every time he has occasion to talk to his people, the chief of state employed his usual frankness to inform the people concerning the development of affairs of state and of all the problems requiring explanations on his part. And the least one can say about the presidential speech is that it was a powerful message which amply enlightened national and international opinion, since it provided the necessary clarifications concerning all the disturbing issues of the moment.

All the burning issues--our political options, which certain fringe elements are desperately trying to challenge, the economic and monetary measures adopted

by the Executive Council in agreement with the IMF, and, lastly, the insidious subversion being actively engaged in by certain embittered individuals to undermine the authority of the state--were discussed with no beating around the bush by the president of the republic, who provided all the necessary explanations.

But the thing that attracted the most attention was the severe and even "hard-line" tone used by Marshal Mobutu to warn all the subversive elements trying to challenge the peace and national unity achieved at the cost of tremendous sacrifice.

The chief of state emphasized: "The members of the MPR are, by and large, peaceable and hard-working, and they must be protected from subversion, brainwashing, and discouragement."

And Marshal Mobutu stated specifically: "As far as I personally, as constitutional guarantor of this country's peace and unity, am concerned, I will put an end at all costs to any form of agitation aimed at regaining ground in Zaire."

What can one say about those remarks except that they reflect the chairman-founder's concern to cast out forever the demons of subversion and tribalism which, if not harshly stifled, threaten to demobilize the people and plunge the country once again into an uncertain situation?

The chief of state also said: "The Zairian people have long memories. In the history of our country, they know who their torturers were in the past--the same ones who occupied high political posts and left nothing but a mess behind them."

That reference to history by the father of the nation touched the Zairian people, who suddenly realized that many irresponsible persons seem to have forgotten what we have left behind. It also reminds us that for the Republic of Zaire, which from 1960 to 1965 was considered the sick child of Africa, the miracle performed by Marshal Mobutu to pacify and unite the country should in no case be signed away.

In that respect, the appeal issued by the chief of state for a sense of civic responsibility and revolutionary discipline on the part of the MPR's members has the value of a symbol. It is the symbol of Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko's devotion to this country which he loves so much, which he has selflessly served until now, and which he does not want to see sink into anarchy.

By calling on his people to display courage in this particularly crucial period, when "unpopular" decisions dictated by the constraints imposed by the IMF's austerity programs have been made by the Executive Council, the chairman-founder's intention was to make the MPR's members face their responsibilities. As we all know, those responsibilities consist of giving unfailing support to the austerity policy being pursued by the Executive Council in managing public affairs.

This is all the more clear in that the Executive Council's good performance during the first 6 months of this year requires further sacrifices if it is to be consolidated.

All this is a way of saying that Zaire is now engaged in the decisive phase of its economic recovery. And it is a fact that the new directives issued to MPR members by the chairman-founder last Saturday concerning both revolutionary vigilance and enthusiasm for work are capable of mobilizing the indispensable human and material potentialities for meeting the challenges and giving the country new trump cards.

But all Zairians must understand that the economic and financial measures adopted within the framework of economic recovery are everyone's business. They must, once again, show political maturity and close ranks around Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko to overcome the difficulties currently confronting the country. Because the fact is that no crisis is insurmountable as long as the path to its solution is wide open, as it is today, and as long as the political will to resolve that crisis is asserted with the necessary clarity and seriousness.

In another connection, the appeal by the Zairian chief of state on behalf of the government of Chad must be understood as Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko's will to defend the legitimacy of that brother country and remain faithful to the basic principles governing international relations and morality.

Both nationally and internationally, therefore, Marshal Mobutu's appeal to public opinion derives from the Zairian chief of state's permanent concern to defend, at all times and in all circumstances, legitimacy, peace, justice, and freedom.

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COPPER MAY BE WITHHELD FROM BELGIAN REFINERIES

Brussels LE SOIR in French 6/7 Aug 83 pp 1,8

[Article by Colette Braeckman: "Zaire Considering Depriving our Refineries of Copper"]

[Text] In the future, will Belgium remain the first country in charge of refining the copper from Zaire? The question came up during the recent trip of Mr Tindemans, minister of foreign affairs, to Africa.

As a matter of fact, during his tour of the Shaba copper mines the officials of GECAMINES [General Quarries and Mines Company] (the Zairian company in charge of the exploitation of the copper mines) explained to the Belgian delegation their desire to refine a larger quantity of copper locally, but also -- and especially -- in the shorter term, their desire to diversify the countries in charge of the refining, because prices in Belgium were considered too high.

If copper is vital for Zaire, its refining is also a very important economic and social question for Belgium. Indeed, nearly half of the copper refined in Belgium comes from Zaire.

The jobs of some 3,800 workers at the metallurgical plant of Hoboken-Overpelt are directly dependent on this industry, and it is even estimated that overall a total of 9,000 jobs (specifically in the transportation and insurance sectors) are dependent on the red metal from Zaire.

The copper mines make Zaire the 6th largest producer of copper in the world, and the largest producer of cobalt. At the present time GECAMINES employs 37,000 workers, and provides 60 percent of the income of the state. For Belgium, the copper and cobalt from Zaire are also of primary importance: of the 470,000 tons produced each year, 250,000 are sent abroad, of which 200,000 are refined in Belgium at the Hoboken-Overpelt metallurgical plant in Olen, near Herentals. At the present time, 45 percent of the copper refined in Belgium and 100 percent of the cobalt come from Zaire. For how long? As a matter of fact, GECAMINES no longer seems to be inclined to automatically renew the agreements which tie it to the Belgian factories. In Zaire they say that if Belgium's relations with Zaire are no longer privileged, the reverse is also true.

Hence, GECAMINES has the right to look for other possible partners, based on the criterion of competitiveness.

#### Make Place for Market Economy

Encouraged by the IMF and the World Bank, Zaire has opted for what it calls "concerted liberalism" (but it really is classic capitalism). The country is more open to foreign investments than it used to be, the laws of competition fully apply, and businesses are managed according to the strictest rules of the market economy.

In other words, companies such as GECAMINES and SNCZ [National Railroad Company of Zaire] no longer hesitate to dismiss expatriates, who are expensive to them in terms of foreign currency, even after years of service, and try to find the best sale and purchase conditions on the international market. Rather paradoxically, it is two Belgian chairmen and managing directors who, at the head of GECAMINES AND SNCZ, have proven to be the most strict, scrupulously defending the interests of their company and of the state of Zaire, if necessary at the expense of their expatriate compatriots and certain Belgian companies.

Thus Messrs Gunst at SNCZ and Crem at GECAMINES did not hesitate to replace dozens of Belgians with Zairian counterparts, which has earned them the animosity of the European colony in Shaba province. And Mr Tindemans left Lubumbashi, his pockets full of petitions and requests for intervention...

At the head of GECAMINES, Mr Robert Crem, a graduate from the ULB [Free University of Brussels] who left the Belgian Société Générale in 1974, believes that, even though he is a Belgian, he is first of all at the service of the state of Zaire, his employer. And, enjoying the confidence of President Mobutu and that of the governor of Shaba province, the very powerful and very nationalistic Bula Mandungu, he gives priority to the interests of GECAMINES.

Last year, due to the drop in world prices, the proceeds from the copper were quite a bit lower than had been expected: instead of the 2 billion zaires it was counting on, the state of Zaire only received 700 million. And yet, production went up; it went from 370,000 tons in 1979 to 470,000 tons today.

And yet Mr Crem is not satisfied: he has noted that the production equipment has aged and that, since 1974, no piece of equipment has been replaced. In addition, he said, in Chile as well as in Zambia 80 percent of the copper produced is refined locally whereas in Zaire 250,000 tons are processed abroad.

This presents specifically problems of transportation: at the present time, at Ilebo -- the old Port Francqui -- 4 billion Belgian francs worth of copper ingots are stored along the river. This is where the first transfer takes place on the national route for the transportation of the copper from Shaba to Matadi by railroad and water, and because at the moment the waters of the river are too low, the copper ingots are waiting on the quays...

It is understandable that the chairman and managing director of GECAMINES wants to put an end product on the market and to refine the Shaba copper locally. Plans to this effect are ready for implementation. All in all, GECAMINES longs for an investment plan intended to stimulate production. But who will finance such projects, which some people have estimated at \$4 billion? In order for the World Bank to provide its guarantee, it demands that the management of the company be perfectly clear, in accordance with the rules of the market economy. This is also the point of view of Mr Crem, who intends to manage his national company according to the criteria of profitability of a private company. And this is where the interests of Belgian companies are threatened.

Meeting with Mr Tindemans, Robert Crem did not mince his words: "We intend to develop our own refining capacities, but we especially want to follow the rules of competition in our relations with our Belgian partners. They must conform to the line of international competition and the proposed conditions must be advantageous to both partners." To put it plainly, Robert Crem believes that the Hoboken-Overpelt factories refine the copper from Zaire at a price 30 percent higher than that of the competition. This is why a few weeks ago he went to Canada and the FRG where, he said, more interesting offers were made. He recalled that GECAMINES has paid all its debts to the Societe Generale of Belgium, which controls the General Ores Company [SGM], and that since 1973 the SGM has known that it would have to diversify its supply sources. But, said Robert Crem, this is 1983 and nothing has been done yet...

The Belgian company, whose officials we questioned, believes that its prices are at the same level as those of the other countries of the European Community, but that of course it cannot compete with countries such as Spain, Yugoslavia and Canada which are protected by customs barriers.

#### Copper, Affair of State

As a matter of fact, as the Belgian president and managing director at the head of the main Zairian company, Robert Crem has proven to be tougher toward Belgium than even his Zairian predecessors who, for years, granted the Belgian companies a veritable annuity. Robert Crem, on the other hand, intends to force the Belgians to lower their prices. Otherwise, he threatens to go elsewhere. And to those who talk about unemployment in Belgium, about the economic crisis, and about the danger of bankruptcies which the withdrawal of Zairian copper would cause in the metallurgical industry, where it is estimated that 9,000 jobs are at stake, he responds that it is not up to Zaire, a developing country, to solve the unemployment problem in Belgium or to subsidize Belgian enterprises... And he seems to accuse the Belgian ministers of acting more as defenders of private Belgian interests than as servants of the state.

But for Mr Tindemans, this is exactly an affair of state: "In Zaire," he said, "I am not defending the interests of a Belgian company, but those of the workers and unemployed in my country. And I do not approach those problems with the officials of GECAMINES, but with the authorities of Zaire."

In other words, Belgium does not intend to let its companies be ousted from the Zairian market under the pretext of free competition, and the stakes are such that they are being discussed at the highest level. Why then, under such conditions, would they not continue to talk about the privileged relations between Belgium and Zaire for a long time to come?